



Champagne moment... Villeneuve celebrates his world title in the time-honoured fashion. PHOTO: JOSE MANUEL RIBEIRO

Motor Racing European Grand Prix

Villeneuve has the final word

Paul Hayward in Jerez

A SPINNING Ferrari wheel in a gravel trap was the enduring symbol of Michael Schumacher's fallibility. The 1997 Formula One championship was handed to Jacques Villeneuve when the German driver tried to barge his rival's Williams-Renault off the track on the 48th lap but succeeded only in ruining his own chance and diminishing his formidable reputation.

So Schumacher is human after all. Formula One's most acclaimed pilot came into last Sunday's European Grand Prix needing only to finish in front of Villeneuve to secure his third championship but lost it with a spectacular misjudgment two-thirds of the way through this dramatic 69-lap car chase.

The race was won by Mika Hakkinen from his McLaren team-mate David Coulthard, but Villeneuve's third place was good enough for him to complete the IndyCar-Formula One double in only his second season with the Williams team. He is only the fourth driver to do it after Mario Andretti, Emerson Fittipaldi and Nigel Mansell.

Villeneuve was greeted by mechanics wearing fluorescent yellow wigs modelled on his own peroxide crop. His was a drive of immense courage and concentration that will remove many of the doubts about his sometimes volatile temperament. It was the Canadian's misfortune that so much attention was focused on Schumacher's rough-house tactics.

Schumacher brought to book

MOTOR racing's supreme disciplinary body ordered Michael Schumacher to account for his driving at Jerez as Formula One sources suggested he knew his car would not last the race, writes Alan Henry.

Moments before the accident, the Ferrari pit is said to have told Schumacher that one water radiator was leaking and his engine was overheating.

On the two previous laps the Ferrari had lost 2.3sec and Villeneuve's Williams was suddenly on his tail. When the German went into his final bend

he knew that, if the Williams past, it would be the end of his influence on the race and possibly of his title hopes.

The condition of the Ferrari engine would have shown on team's computer screen and could be available as evidence when Schumacher appears before an extraordinary meeting of the FIA World Motor Sport Council in Paris on November 11.

At the very least Schumacher could face a multi-million dollar fine and a suspended ban, or worst he may be barred from first two races next year.

"It shows what his antics are," said last year's champion Damon Hill. Villeneuve said dryly: "Either he had his eyes shut or his hands must have slipped on the steering wheel. When I took him on the curve I knew I had only a 50 per cent chance because there was a chance Michael would try to take me out."

The stewards, astonishingly, called it "a racing incident" and took no action. Schumacher said: "Jacques braked so late that he would have gone off if I hadn't turned into him. Neither of us would have made the corner braking so late."

In Switzerland, Ferrari fan clubs had been preparing to rev up and drive to the company headquarters in Maranello within 60 seconds of their idol taking the chequered flag. They were to join nearly 40,000 supporters and 20 television crews who had gathered in the small Italian town to proclaim a first Ferrari drivers' championship since Judy Schecter's in 1979. The mayor had applied to have the town's name amended to "Maranello Made in Red" but the *Times* will have had to print it black instead.

The conventional wisdom on the season was that Schumacher was the faster driver in the cockpit of the slower car. His skill and iron will were supposedly overcoming the technical superiority of the Williams FW19. How ironic, then, that Schumacher, the embodiment of Ferrari's lavishly funded ambition, should wreck the team's chances of ending an 18-year wait with a failed attempt to end the struggle by force.

Schumacher's error, given his apparent decision to remove Villeneuve at the Dry Sack corner, was in not being Machiavellian enough. He was in a comfortable lead braking into the bend but was probably surprised to see Villeneuve's nose-tip poking through on his inside. The camera evidence shows a clear rightward jerk by Schumacher to the extent that his left arm was twisted over his right. The two cars collided but Villeneuve's chugged on. The most revered and famed-over car-driver combination came to rest in the gravel with the rear wheel spinning helplessly amid a puff of dust.

"Ferrari is not a team, it's an emotion," the firm's president Luca Di Montezemolo is fond of saying. Last Sunday that emotion was despair. Schumacher was the final gilded

extravagance who would take prancing stallion back to the stables. For much of the season it seemed he was working. But another counter with reality will have to place in Maranello's Piazza della Libertà as the lashings of free bruses were diverted into a drowning of sorrows.

The TV audience in Italy was expected to edge towards the 24 million who watched Italy's World Cup final. The roads in Maranello had been closed by 10,000 residents decked out in red and yellow flowers. There is a record of Williams's home town, Waulage in Oxfordshire — except with similar fervour.

It is the second time in four years that Schumacher has been involved in a decisive collision in the season's final journey. Three years ago Adelaide, Hill needed at least 10 points to overtake the German. He was taken out when his adversary Benetton bounced off a wall and knocked his Williams off the track. "It was Adelaide revisited," said Frank Williams last Sunday as he tried to suppress the pressure at seeing Schumacher in such discomfort.

THE only group happier than the Williams team, who clinched a record ninth constructors' championship, were the impresarios and money men of the Formula One. Strictly speaking they would have preferred a Ferrari victory to take to the banks as the nation issue rumbles on, but drama of this magnitude is an equally saleable commodity. As Villeneuve said, "It was a very physical race, with plenty of tactical nuances."

Schumacher paralysed Villeneuve with a roaring start but was attacked right up to the decision by the Williams partnership of Villeneuve and Heinz-Harald Frentzen. Schumacher received as much support from Eddie Irvine but was helped when Northey Fontana's Sauber, powered by a Ferrari engine, pluckily held up Villeneuve for a couple of seconds.

The outcome left both Villeneuve and Schumacher on new ground. Villeneuve as Formula One champion and Schumacher in the dog house. The plan had been for him to return to Maranello Made in Red as Ferrari's saviour. Instead he came back to the pits on another staple of the Italian motor industry: a mop.

Vol 157, No 19
Week ending November 9, 1997

Spy charged who tried to tell all in book

THE first British secret service agent to be charged with secrets offences since the Soviet spy George Blake, 36 years ago, appeared in court this week, writes Richard Norton-Taylor.

Richard Tomlinson, aged 34, was charged with planning to publish a book about his experiences in British intelligence. In a case with remarkable echoes of the Spycatcher episode, which seriously embarrassed the Thatcher government, he is accused of planning to publish his book in Australia — where the Government would have difficulty in suppressing it.

Mr Tomlinson is also the first person to be charged under the 1989 Official Secrets Act. At Bow Street magistrates court in London on Monday, he was remanded in custody for a week pending further Special Branch inquiries and the consent of the Attorney General, John Morris, which is needed if a prosecution is to go ahead.

Mr Tomlinson, who has dual British and New Zealand nationality, was allegedly planning to leave the country. If he were to have done so, there would have been little M16 could have done to stop the book, as the failure to prevent the publication in Australia in 1986 of Spycatcher, memoirs of the former M15 officer Peter Wright, demonstrated.

Mr Tomlinson has served in Bosnia and Moscow and was involved in investigating attempts by a Middle East power to acquire components destined for a suspected chemical weapons plant.

He was sacked in 1995 at the end of his three-year probation period. Malcolm Rifkind, then Foreign Secretary, signed a gagging order preventing him from taking his case to an industrial tribunal.

Mr Tomlinson told M16 last year that his book was stored in coded files on two remote computers. "I have programmed both computers to decode and release the book on the Internet unless they receive a signal from me once per week," he said.

Reporting restrictions were lifted when he appeared in court this week. The Cambridge graduate with a first-class degree in aeronautical engineering remained silent throughout the 30-minute hearing.

He was refused bail on the grounds that he might abscond. Mr Tomlinson's solicitor, John Wadham — director of the civil rights group Liberty — said after the hearing that his client had a grievance against M16 which he had never been able to put forward. "I call on the Attorney General to throw this prosecution out," he said.

Iraq defies UN with bans and threats

Martin Kettle in Washington, Ian Black and Michael White

THE confrontation between Iraq and the United Nations escalated on Monday after Saddam Hussein threatened to shoot down United States spy planes but offered a "dialogue" over his action against UN weapons inspectors.

"This is a direct military threat to the United Nations," said Bill Richardson, the US ambassador at the UN. "This is an irresponsible escalation which we view with grave concern."

The chief UN inspector, Richard Butler, said on Monday that the next surveillance flight, scheduled for Thursday, would go ahead despite the Iraqi warning.

The UN secretary-general, Kofi Annan, responded to the latest developments by sending a three-man mission to Baghdad to try to persuade the Iraqi leader to back down.

Britain said it would support the use of force against Iraq but made clear in the face of objections from Russia and France that all diplomatic avenues — including the threat of new sanctions — would be explored first.

The White House rejected the call for dialogue, however, after Baghdad carried out its threat and blocked American members of a UN arms inspection team from entering a weapons site. "We're not interested in a dialogue," said spokesman Mike McCurry. "We're interested in compliance."

Baghdad newspapers reiterated that the 10 American weapons inspectors must leave the country by Wednesday night.

But Mr Butler said later that inspections by UN teams would proceed on Tuesday — with the Americans taking part.

"We will go back to work in the normal way in Iraq tomorrow," he said. "We will keep on doing it and we will do it knowing the [UN Security] Council completely supports that approach."

He was speaking after the Security Council endorsed Mr Annan's decision to send the envoys.

The Iraqi news agency INA said President Saddam had told his cabinet of "the need for dialogue to put things in order and on the right track". Iraq wanted "a clear and complete picture" of when the UN would lift sanctions imposed after the invasion of Kuwait in 1990.

Mr McCurry said that the job of Mr Annan's three-man team, due in Baghdad on Wednesday, was not to negotiate a compromise. "The dialogue should consist of spelling out the ways in which he will comply with the will of the international community," he said.



Iraqis take to the streets of Baghdad in support of President Saddam's anti-US stance. PHOTO: KARIM SAHAB

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British and American diplomats said they hoped the Iraqi leader could be given a ladder to climb down, but there was no indication of early agreement on new punitive measures if he did not.

Asked if the US was ruling out unilateral military action to enforce compliance by Iraq, Mr McCurry said: "I'm not ruling anything in or out."

In Abu Dhabi, Iraq's ambassador to the Arab League said Baghdad was prepared for all possibilities. "When we took this decision we were expecting, as in the past, that America would take hostile positions, including the use of military

means against Iraq," Nabil Nijem said.

France is leading efforts to ensure that any retaliatory action against Iraq is taken through the UN and not by the US unilaterally.

In London, Downing Street signalled its support for Washington after officials in Tony Blair's office held direct talks with their counterparts in the presidential National Security Council in Washington.

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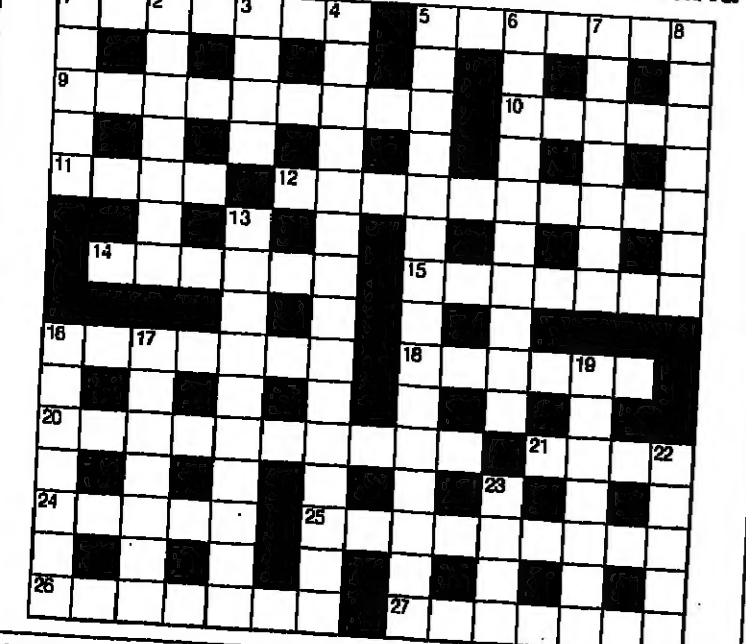
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Austria	AS30	Malta	600
Belgium	BF80	Netherlands	G 5
Denmark	DK16	Norway	NK 16
Finland	FM 10	Portugal	E300
France	FF 18	Saudi Arabia	SR 6.50
Germany	DM 4	Spain	P 300
Greece	GR 450	Sweden	SK 18
Italy	L 3,500	Switzerland	SF 3.90

Cryptic crossword by Araucaria



Across

- 1 Meditation, in spite of having little time (7)
- 2 Tremendous loss (7)
- 3 Senior actor provides home-made wine (5,4)
- 4 Home help goes back to the country (5)
- 5 No use for 14's 1 acrosses (4)
- 6 Diver to give her a cuddle — pointless going back to the king (6,4)
- 7 Saint's part in Jerusalem, the holy city (6)
- 8 He gives formal acknowledgment to make us alert (7)

- 16 Barker? Herdly: holding a little money I thrust back (7)
- 18 The fool is likely to be in the soup (6)
- 20 One who plots to put the mother country to right (10)
- 21 Where flowers are 11 or 11? (4)
- 24 Extremes on river: part of 12's part of 2 (5)
- 25 Shunning of drunken sot for ethnophobia (9)
- 26 Make a mess of a few words in the Old Testament (7)
- 27 In river and islands there's little time for Northerners (7)

Down

- 1 I put a greenback in the fountain (5)
- 2 Former representative of university would spend nothing at first (3,4)
- 3 Pierce and draw blood? (4)
- 4 14's Englishmen at home to Australian in menace (5,3,2,1,4)
- 5, 6, 23 14's work "Stiff Lodger", harsh 'n' pathetic book (3,7,2,3,5,5,4)
- 7 Agree to love — but change of course (2,5)
- 8 Very good biscuit (7)
- 9 Residence of a master taking in a French film (10)
- 10 Fish (part of 12 from part of 10) recalling where 14's 4 went later (7)
- 17 Shut off what sounds unhealthy and unchaste (7)
- 19 Latin books, I hesitate to say, will tranquillise (7)
- 22 Novelist of parliaments (5)
- 23 See 5 down

Last week's solution

ANOREXIC POWRATH
NIFEXA MOPPE
DUMAS THEORAPED
HITLER MIAI
ENCLOUTHER FLAT
NEF TGLA
AT STATEAGENT
STORPERSON DE
PARDONER JER
RIB CROSSROADS
GOLDENVE ROQUE
ELCNO UN
STACKET NOWHERE

He came, he saw, but Jiang didn't conquer



Washington diary

Martin Kettle

JULIUS CAESAR said that he came, he saw and he conquered. Eighteen years ago, when Deng Xiaoping made the first visit to the United States by a Chinese leader, that was pretty much how it felt then too. But in Jiang Zemin's case last week, it was different. He came, he was seen and then he went away again, leaving American opinion just as divided over China now as it was before his arrival.

That is not how the Chinese, who, after all, made up 60 per cent of last week's Washington summit, see it. The Chinese media carried extensive and respectful coverage of President Jiang's week in the United States. The formalities of the visit to the White House were shown at length on Chinese television news bulletins — even to the extent of the national anthems and the 21-gun salute being rebroadcast uncut.

Shorn of all protests and disagreement, the broadcast had the effect of showing China's leader being greeted by the US president as a respected equal.

In Washington — as in any imperial capital — they see it differently. Jiang's visit was a calculated risk for a nation that recognises a great power when it sees one, but which remains preoccupied with ensuring that relations between two such nations take place in a moral and political framework in which the last word, and the principal trade advantage, ought to lie with the Americans.

Much of Jiang's visit was taken up with a somewhat bizarre series of photo-opportunities in scenic and folksy corners of the US. He went swimming off Hawaii. He donned a tricorn hat during a visit to colonial Williamsburg in Virginia. He had intended to pose by the Liberty Bell in Philadelphia, but that was cancelled because of demonstrations. On Friday last week he went through with a scheduled ringing of the opening bell at the New York Stock Exchange, though maybe it was not the ideal week to do that. And last Saturday, he strolled through leafy Harvard university, strutting his stuff as a philosopher president.

Few of these photo-ops appeared back in China, so presumably they were planned for the benefit of US public opinion in the hope that they would show a smiling and self-aware Asian tiger roaming through the American jungle. If so, they were largely a failure.

This is because US public opinion has insisted on seeing this visit



through the prism of the human rights issue. This was the first visit to the US by a Chinese leader since the Tiananmen repression eight years ago, and the first since the uneasy transition in Hong Kong at the end of June. Troubled memories of those events have scarcely dimmed here, and they have been underscored by a series of recent films — *Seven Years in Tibet*, *Red Corner*, and the soon to be released *Kundun* — which have once more highlighted both human rights and the continuing annexation of Tibet. Put that together with a volatile pro-Taiwan lobby, and it is scarcely surprising that the Jiang visit has been overshadowed by human rights concerns and protests.

In that context it was inevitable that the principal event of the visit was the White House press conference given by the two leaders after

their meeting. This was an occasion on which the US media was on its mettle, anxious to fulfil its own self-image by asking hard questions to the visiting leader. The hard questions — about Tiananmen, imprisoned dissidents, Taiwan and Tibet — were duly asked, but it was Jiang's uncompromisingly tough answers to them which defined the visit more than any other episode.

This was a difficult moment for Clinton, and you could see that he felt the mantle of leader-of-the-free-world on his shoulders as he prepared to respond to Jiang's pro-fact justification of the Tiananmen Square deaths. But the US leader passed the test well, making his points with force but without overstepping the protocols that required him to act the polite host.

Before the Jiang visit began, the White House had tried to play down

expectations that much would come out of it. Summits should be routine and uneventful, the security adviser, Sandy Berger said; don't expect them to be full of goodies. But that isn't quite the style. The US president is a summititeer, and he brought plenty of goodies that fully justified his own point of view, the making of a visit that was otherwise a pitfall for such a ratings-conscious political leader.

The centrepiece of the wrapping was the much trailed quip-quo between Washington and Beijing over nuclear trade. US agreed, in writing, to stop such nuclear know-how to the Third World, and especially to limit return, Washington promised a 12-year-old ban on nuclear operation with China. This was, president said, a "win-win-win" for America, advancing US security and environmental interests all in one go.

The trade element is the indisputable of these three, since group of US companies, led by Westinghouse, reckons that deal will net them up to \$15 billion worth of business over the next five years, with more to come. But it is also clear that, in the long run, Chinese economic expansion will boom not just for China but for those nations, not only the US which can supply the Chinese with clean energy technology, which in power generation, domestic use or, above all, the motor car.

In a week in which statistics have been flying thick and fast through the Washington air, perhaps the best one to remember is that China has 1.2 billion people but still 3 million cars. Those who see guiding star for US policy towards China will find that is one they cannot steer by for several years to come.

Washington Post, page 18

GUARDIAN WEEKLY
November 9 1997

Jordan's king clamps down on press

Julian Borger in Amman

HARSH censorship laws have muzzled Jordan's newspapers in advance of Tuesday's parliamentary elections, forcing 13 weeklies to close and setting back freedom of expression by decades, journalists and opposition parties complain.

At a recent conference co-sponsored by Jordanian liberal groups and the London-based anti-censorship organisation Article 19, journalists said the press laws had imposed a blanket of fear and self-censorship.

King Hussein altered the press law by royal decree in May, setting a minimum capital requirement for any

weekly publication of 300,000 Jordanian dinars (\$445,000), while extending the list of officially taboo subjects to the armed forces and security services. The amendment also included a vaguely worded ban on articles "which include false information or rumours that lead to harming the general interest, or government institutions, or its workers". Fines for breaking the press laws were raised 15-fold, and offending newspapers are threatened with suspension.

"What we do all day long is self-censorship. We hate it, but this is the way it is," said George Hawatmeh, the editor of the Jordan Times and head of the new Arab Media Institute in Amman.

Before imposing the restrictions, the king complained about journalists' "deteriorating morals", and said they were distorting Jordan's image.

The opposition claims the restrictions are designed to stifle dissent in the run-up to the elections. The main Islamist opposition bloc and several prominent liberals are boycotting the poll, accusing the government of trying to manipulate the outcome.

Taher Maari, a former prime minister who has joined the boycott, said: "The spirit of free journalism is on the way down... It's like we were back 40 or 50 years ago under martial law."

Martial law was formally lifted in 1991 after 34 years, as part of a

general liberalisation policy that began with the first free elections in 1989. That process, the government's critics say, has been put into reverse to counter opposition to Jordan's 1994 peace treaty with Israel and economic austerity measures.

The foreign minister, Faysal Tarawneh, defended the press laws, arguing that the weekly tabloids had abused press freedom and become irresponsible. "If they hear any rumour in any salon in Amman, the next day it is a headline," he said. "When they write something they can't substantiate and which affects the dignity of the people, of officials or other Arab officials... sometimes they are questioned."

Said Essouf, who heads the Article 19 department that monitors the Arab world, said: "There were provocative articles, but this is the price you pay for democracy." He said Jordan had been among the leading Arab states — Egypt, Morocco and Lebanon — as far as press freedom was concerned but had "slipped out of the top league" in recent months.

An Article 19 report, *Blaming The Press: Jordan's Democratisation Process in Crisis*, presented at the conference, listed 63 cases in which newspapers had been prosecuted under catch-all charges such as "infringing on morals and ethics", "insulting the president of an Arab country" and "infringing on the dignity of the people".

Washington Post, page 15

Surreal win in ghost poll

COLOMBIA DIARY

Jeremy Lennard

GABRIEL García Márquez, Colombia's Nobel prize-winning novelist and grandfather of magic realism, claims that the harsh daily reality of violence and poverty in Colombia is tempered by sublime and slightly surreal forces.

All very well, but when these qualities of illusion colour major political events, it might be worth asking a few questions. After months of violence and intimidation, which saw the murder of scores of local officials and the kidnapping of many more, Colombians went to the polls in nationwide local elections on October 26. By polling day, some 2,000 candidates had withdrawn; in some towns there was no one left to vote for.

The government and much of the media trumpeted the elections as a victory for peace and democracy, which to many was about as believable as a bicycling fish. Granted there was not too much violence on polling day, but this was due to the presence of 200,000 soldiers on the streets. No one seemed to notice the contradiction of banner headlines shouting "paz y democracia" alongside pictures of tanks at town halls and AK 47s resting on ballot boxes.

Nearly 10 million people voted for peace, we were told. But more than 10 million people didn't. Why? Fear certainly played its part. In some areas, dominated by leftwing guerrillas and rightwing paramilitaries, the turnout was less than 1 per cent, and in several towns the new mayor was elected on just one vote.

But despite raging poverty and public disorder, this is not a country of political activists. Recent history explains why. The last time the radical left tried to organise itself as the Patriotic Union, 3,500 of its members were murdered over 10 years, until the movement gave up politics.

So, on the surface the public is abiding and accepting — an image reinforced by extreme politeness and formality. But, and this takes us back to García Márquez, little in Colombia is quite what it seems. The same people who wouldn't say boo to a political goose hide a fiery and unpredictable anger after ego, friends and lives are lost over garage bills and football results. In the early eighties, the British group Chumbawumba twisted the title of a Sex Pistols album to *Never Mind The Ballots* — Here's The Rest Of Your Life. A better maxim for Colombia may be to find.



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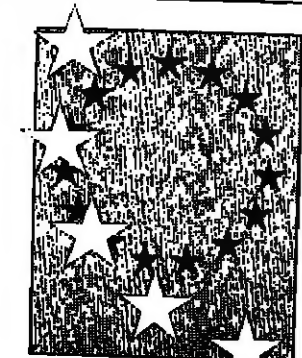
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Employment initiatives are just the job



Europe this week

Martin Walker

IT IS always a pleasant surprise when a politician admits to error and promises to change the way of doing things. And when the issue in question is the use of the European Union's structural and social funds, now running at well over \$30 billion a year, the confession of past failure by the European commissioner for employment and social affairs, Padraig Flynn, was remarkable.

"Why is reform necessary?" Flynn asked a conference on employment in Barcelona. "Because our present policies have failed. Each year, our present policies result in 2 million people being added to long-term unemployment in Europe. One in five of our young people leave our education and social systems with no marketable qualifications. Only one in 10 of all

Europe's unemployed ever gets into a training programme."

Hence the Commission's new employment strategy, which will be the focal point of this month's jobs summit, to target both training and the long-term unemployed. But it was unfortunate that Flynn's remarks came at the press conference for the opening of the Integra meeting, rather than at the end. Had he remained for the full two days of the conference on finding jobs for the socially excluded he might have learned something of value, as this reporter certainly did.

It was not just the usefulness of local governments, non-governmental organisations and social workers coming together from all over Europe to share their experience of dealing with long-term unemployment and discuss the particular problems of finding work for the disabled, for ex-prisoners and the ethnic minorities. It was also the perception that whether in Finland or Spain, Scotland or Sicily, the real problem of the long-term unemployed was the psychological one of bringing people out of despair, and the financial, housing and family crises that afflict people out of work for two years and more. There was another lesson: that in trying to cut the immediate costs of social and public services, we are beginning to resemble Oscar Wilde's cynic, who knows "the price of everything and the value of nothing".

Take the example of Robert Marshall's programme, called Glasgow

Works, which has so far put almost 1,000 long-unemployed Glaswegians into full-time work or full-time education. Its most visible success are the City Centre guides in their distinctive jackets. They might be called Redcoats but for the unfortunate historical echoes of the uniform worn by the English armies who put down the Scottish risings of 1715 and 1745.

There are 44 of the guides at any given time. In teams of two, they are given a street to patrol in the city centre or its West End. They have small radios, to contact the police, the social services, or another council office to arrange the removal of rubbish or abandoned cars, or to summon the Glasgow Works graffiti-cleaning crew. They help tourists, look after lost children, act as unofficial special constables, and have had a striking impact on local crime and civic order.

On average, they last about nine months in the job, and then almost invariably get another full-time job because the profile and the image of the city guides stands so high with local employers. And having held down a responsible and useful job, the guides themselves are transformed from being "a problem", as one of the long-term unemployed, to being a self-confident and palpably useful citizen.

"The key to everything we do is that we start by giving people a job. We don't trawl the unemployment office. We advertise in the local papers, for a child care worker, for ex-

ample, simply noting at the bottom of the ad that you must live in Glasgow and have been out of work for at least a year," explains Marshall, who used to work in London for Shelter, the homeless charity.

Glasgow Works uses a client's unemployment benefit, topped up money from the EU social fund and with some other resources from the city council, gives each new applicant some training, and then sets them to work. As well as the city guides, they have another remarkable scheme under which the long-term unemployed are trained to become job stewards for disabled people. They work individually to train their disabled clients for job interviews, accompany them to the interview, help them arrange transport, liaise with the employer, and make follow-up visits.

GLASGOW WORKS was devising its programme just as the Netherlands was setting up its own "Stadswacht" service, which gives the long-term unemployed some training, a uniform and a radio, 120 per cent of the minimum wage, and sends them into a small neighbourhood to become a kind of special constable. They are sometimes called Melkert jobs after the Dutch employment minister Ad Melkert, who has boasted of his new job creation scheme reflecting Dutch values: "We are restoring a feeling of safety in cities by introducing the 'Stadswacht' street patrols and bringing back tram conductors," he said.

Glasgow Works has looked at providing bus conductors, but so

far avoided what could be a link with trade unions, who currently support their programmes, but lack assistance at the prospect of established jobs being undermined by cheap, subsidised labour. Glasgow Works has learned a lot from similar schemes in other European countries. They decided to set their job stewards to the job interviews their clients get, after seeing that it worked in a similar project Genk, in Belgium.

This European connection works both ways. In Portugal and Spain, local groups working with refugees have learned from the pioneering work of the London Borough of Islington, that by training a young refugee as a journalist or broadcaster, their own community they provide an extremely useful service to the demoralised refugee groups, who suddenly have an information service and a point of reference. This in turn, gives the trainee journalist the experience and self-confidence to go on to a career in the media.

None of this is easy. Nor is it cheap, unless you count the value of doing the long-term unemployed or at-risk groups to the disadvantage of life on welfare. Nor does it fit into grand national or post-European schemes of job creation. The Glasgow Works play of using unemployment benefits to help pay a wage so badly with the British legal benefits system that it had to be called "a pilot project" to get off the ground. Still, on current figures, Glasgow Works alone will have a third within five years.

Handwritten note: "The 31st is 1.16"

The Week in Britain James Lewis

Sultans of spin to head 'rogue briefings' inquiry

FOLLOWING the embarrassing row over conflicting stories about the Government's attitude towards the single European currency, the Prime Minister, Tony Blair, has ordered a review into the role of spin doctors. But it will be headed by the Government's two leading practitioners of spin — Peter Mandelson, the Minister without Portfolio, and Alastair Campbell, Mr Blair's press spokesman.

The intention is to stop "rogue" stories being allowed to run unchallenged as representing government policy. The review could, however, also result in government advisers and spokesmen relying less on so-called spin and more on statements made formally and on the record.

The review committee will also include Sir Robin Butler, head of the civil service, who has expressed concern about the exodus of senior Whitehall information officers since Labour came to power in May. Eight have gone in just six months amid complaints that they were being squeezed out by a Labour team of politically-motivated "special advisers".

Information fed "off the record" to selected journalists by a Treasury special adviser, Charles Whelan, was blamed for the debacle over the market-sensitive single currency issue, and even Mr Campbell was forced to admit that spin doctors had become too much of a part of the stories they were putting about.

Under proposals now being looked at, Mr Campbell would be named in stories about which he commented. And individual ministers would have official spokesmen who would be described as such in newspaper reports. No longer will political journalists have to depend for important information on unnamed "sources close to" the minister.

DETAILS of next year's referendum on whether London should have an elected mayor were announced by the Deputy Prime Minister, John Prescott, who immediately provoked criticism over the question to be asked.

Voters will be faced, on May 7, with just one question: "Are you in favour of the Government's proposals for a Greater London Authority, made up of an elected mayor and a separately elected assembly?"

The politico novelist and Tory, Lord Archer, currently the front runner for the job of mayor, said it was insulting to present Londoners with an "all or nothing" choice. They should be asked, separately, whether they wanted an assembly, and whether they wanted an executive mayor.

He was supported by the leftwing Labour MP Ken Livingstone, leader of the former Greater London Council. He, too, has shown an interest in the job, but believes the majority should go to the leader of the largest group in an elected assembly.

Richard Branson is also touted as a runner but has yet to state his intentions. It is thought that the rules would require the Virgin entrepreneur to give up his business interests.

Mr Prescott defended what he called a balanced package: "There is no sound case for a mayor without an assembly, or an assembly without a mayor."

BRAITN's two leading opera companies may be shoo-horned into one theatre to prevent one or both being forced to close, under radical plans announced by the Culture Secretary, Chris Smith.

English National Opera would abandon its London Coliseum base and join the Royal Opera and Royal Ballet at the Royal Opera House in Covent Garden, which is currently being redeveloped at a cost of £213 million. Mr Smith said the Government could no longer afford to subsidise the companies in their present homes.

The Royal Opera has had a disastrous start to its first two years in exile while its Covent Garden home is rebuilt, with losses expected to reach £750,000 for the first half of this season. A board meeting was told that 230 casual staff had not been paid for up to three months, that some pay cheques for backstage crews had bounced, and that another round of redundancies was on the cards. The management has been heavily criticised by the Arts Council and was last week described as "a shambles" by Gerald Kaufman, the chairman of a Commons select committee investigating its performance.

A RETIRED railway worker, Anthony Sawoniuk, aged 76, from Bermondsey, London, has been charged with war crimes allegedly committed in Nazi-occupied Europe. He denied murdering five Jews in 1942 in his home town in Belarus, and was released on bail. He is the second man to be prosecuted under the 1990 War Crimes Act.

BRAITN formally asked Brazil to extradite Ronald Biggs, who escaped from a London prison after serving only 15 months of a 30-year sentence for his part in the £2.6 million "Great Train Robbery". He has lived for 27 years in Brazil which, until this year, had no extradition treaty with the United Kingdom.

Biggs, now 68, who has made a career as an author, raconteur and tourist attraction in his South American haven, may well remain there under a statute of limitation. Even his one-time pursuer, former Detective Superintendent Jack Slipper, thought he should be left alone. He said he would probably be a drain on the National Health Service and would want to draw a pension.



Under the hammer... A 15ft-high Latvian bust of Lenin, weighing 5 tonnes, is unloaded at Sobehy's Billingshurst, Sussex. The statue is expected to raise £18,000 at auction. PHOTOGRAPH: ROBERTS

Britain blamed for volcano 'fiasco'

Ian Black

THE chief minister of the volcano-stricken island of Montserrat, David Brandt, last week demanded a judicial inquiry into the "fiasco" of Britain's handling of the crisis, which he said had contributed to the deaths of islanders.

Mr Brandt told the Commons select committee on international development that conditions in emergency shelters in the north of the Caribbean dependency were "not as good as the conditions in which they keep cattle in the UK". He also accused Clare Short, the international Development Secretary, of giving "inaccurate and misleading" evidence when she testified to the committee last month.

Sensitive to criticism over Montserrat after Ms Short's "golden elephants" gaffe in the summer, Downing Street insisted Mr Brandt's charges were "unfounded".

The chief minister appeared to have misunderstood correspon-

dence about new housing between Tony Blair and the Jamaican government, officials said.

Mr Brandt said he blamed Britain for the deaths of 19 islanders on June 25 after failing to provide proper housing in the wake of the Soufriere Hills volcano erupting back into life in July 1995.

"The loss of life was a direct consequence of the failure to make reasonably adequate housing available two years after the crisis," he said in written evidence. Two weeks ago, Ms Short told the committee that decision-making over the crisis was "dreadful" because of the sheer number of different players involved.

With officials complaining of an "alphabet soup" of overlapping authorities and departments, Ms Short has spoken of her frustration at the slowness of the Montserrat government in dealing with the emergency.

Mr Brandt said last week: "This has been a demonstrable failure. It has allowed a degree of 'passing the buck' with the blame often being

placed unfairly with the governor of Montserrat. It is for that reason we are demanding an immediate and full judicial inquiry to determine the exact events and how we have arrived at this fiasco."

Britain has committed some £11 million to aid the dependency since 1995. Of an original population of 11,000, only 2,500-3,000 people remain. Last year the island received twice as much aid as Ethiopia, which has 50 million people.

Mr Brandt has repeatedly charged that the Department for International Development does not have an incentive to improve conditions on Montserrat because it favours a complete evacuation. The department and the Foreign Office have repeatedly denied this.

On Britain's role in providing temporary housing in the east and Mr Brandt's suggestion that had contributed to islander deaths, a spokesman insisted: "We moved as quickly and efficiently as we could to provide temporary housing in the north."

Short to end aid and trade programme

David Hencke

BRAITN'S £73 million a year aid and trade programme, discredited after being linked to arms sales and the illegal funding of Malaysia's Pergau dam, is to be abolished.

Clare Short, the international Development Secretary, was expected to announce the decision this week as part of the first white paper on overseas aid policy for nearly 20 years.

The decision to replace the programme with development aid concentrating on the relief of poverty without damaging the environment follows a tense Whitehall battle between Ms Short's ministry, the Department of Trade and Industry, and the Treasury.

It is certain to be welcomed by aid charities and campaigning groups from the World Development Movement. Companies which build large

power stations, dams, roads, railways and communication systems have been the main beneficiaries of the aid and trade programme, which can contribute a third of the cost of projects costing as much as £300 million. Many of the contracts were won in competition with the French, Germans and Americans, who also offered subsidies. Companies had been lobbying the DTI to retain the funds.

Ms Short persuaded Margaret Beckett, President of the Board of Trade, to agree to the abolition of the programme.

Gordon Brown, the Chancellor, has also backed Ms Short's case to abolish the programme after internal reviews revealed that the benefits of aid funded by the taxpayer were not clear-cut, as sometimes the prices charged for equipment were higher than unsubsidised goods.

Under the deal the DTI will be able to keep a separate programme to aid industry, but the money will have to come from the ministry's existing resources, and the Government will not support schemes which break Labour's "ethical" foreign policy. This means that projects that damage the environment, exploit workers or infringe human rights will not be supported.

All schemes approved by the last government will be honoured, allowing the cash allocated to be phased out over the next three years.

The programmes have been heavily criticised for the environmental damage they do to developing countries, from destroying virgin rainforests to creating widespread industrial pollution.

Parliament's National Audit Office has also condemned many aspects of the aid.

GUARDIAN WEEKLY
November 9 1997

Tory euro wounds reopened

Michael White

WILLIAM HAGUE'S beleaguered leadership team was bracing itself for a renewal of the Conservative party's running civil war over Europe after further turmoil over the single currency came within an ace of delivering another defector into the Labour camp.

To the astonishment of some MPs, the pro-European campaigner Peter Temple-Morris was granted two face-to-face meetings with Tony Blair as he edged towards a private commitment to defect last weekend.

He drew back because rallying cries by the former Deputy Prime Minister, Michael Heseltine, and the former Chancellor, Kenneth Clarke, gave him fresh heart.

Last week, two pro-European MPs, Ian Taylor and David Curry, resigned from Mr Hague's team after the Conservative leader said that Britain should not enter into monetary union for at least 10 years.

But instead of conniving in another stage-managed defection, Mr Temple-Morris, a Tory back-bencher for 23 years, called a press conference to declare: "I have now decided to stay within the Conserva-

tive party and do all I can — with others and under distinguished leadership — to resist and change this policy."

The dramatic change of heart was triggered by statements by Mr Heseltine and Mr Clarke in favour of early British membership of the euro.

Mr Heseltine used radio and TV interviews to unleash opinions he has long held in private. He predicted: "There is going to be a single currency. Short of nuclear war or something like that, the Europeans are going to do that. The only issue is when Britain joins, because join we will."

Big business, the party's traditional paymasters, increased pressure on Mr Hague by condemning the new hardline stance.

Labour officials who had been nursing Mr Temple-Morris through his proposed defection for weeks expressed their respect for the MP's courage and for his second thoughts. "Now that Clarke and Heseltine have done what they have done it's a fight worth fighting. So we wish him well," said one.

Ministers are licking their lips at the prospect of more Tory squabbling. It will take the heat off the Government's own, not dissimilar, tactical dilemmas. Mr Blair hopes to woo public opinion away from tabloid-driven Euro-scepticism in a referendum, probably after 2001.

Cook vows to help single currency

Ian Black

BRAITN will give "the best start possible" to the European single currency when the historic decision on who joins is made in May — despite the Government's policy of waiting to make up its mind until after 1999, the Foreign Secretary, Robin Cook, promised this week.

Mr Cook insisted the Government is committed to the successful handling of the euro project during Britain's European Union presidency because it is "an issue that matters to the people of Europe".

Setting out a detailed agenda for "giving Europe back to the people", in an address to the Irish Institute for European Affairs in Dublin, Mr Cook sought to reassure fellow EU members that the euro will be safe in British hands when the key decisions are taken on who qualifies.

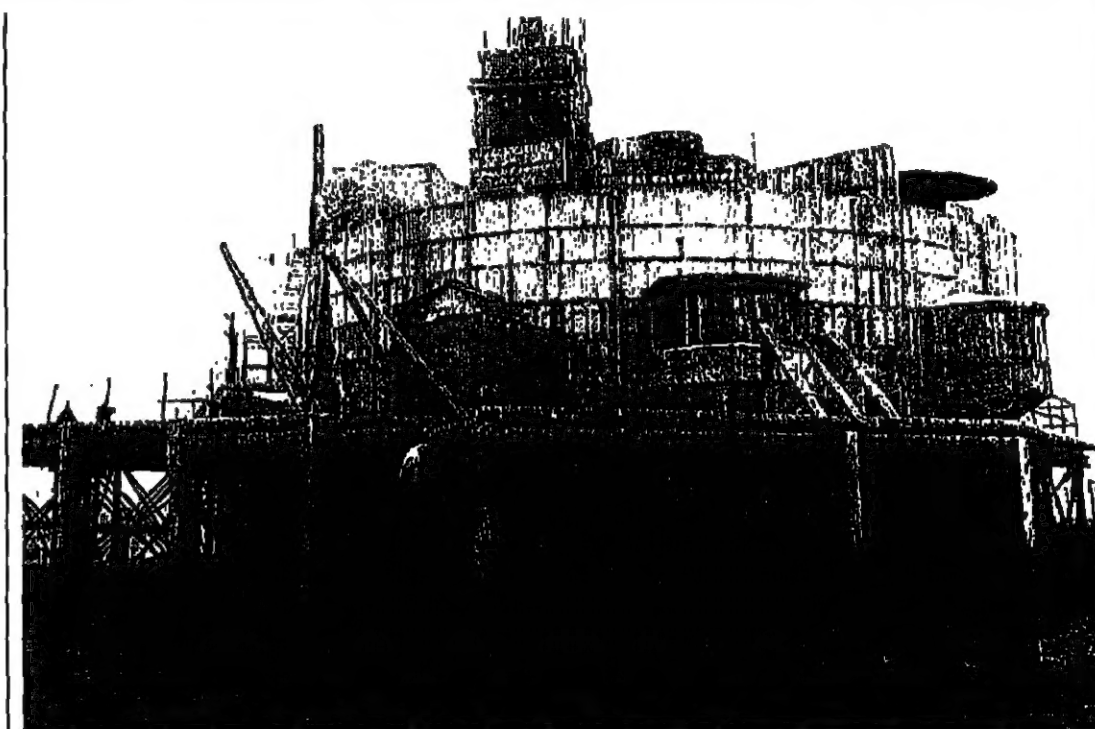
"We will discharge this responsibility to the best of our abilities, fully and scrupulously, in a way that shows our constructive approach to Europe at its best. We want economic and monetary union to be a success," he said.

"Even though we will not be taking part in the first wave in 1999, it is still in our interests that it should succeed. We will use our presidency to give ERM the best start we possibly can. This is an issue that matters to the people of Europe. We will not let them down."

With the tone of Britain's relations with Europe changed by signing the Social Chapter after the election, Mr Cook argued that people now need a union that is more relevant to their lives.

"The EU seems to spend too much of its time discussing things that do not touch people's lives, abstractions and theories rather than a concrete agenda," he said. "The people need to believe that their agenda is also our agenda. Britain has a mission as president of the European Union — to give Europe back to the people."

The German Chancellor, Helmut Kohl, will keep the door open for British membership of monetary union on the easiest of terms, despite the Government's decision to postpone UK entry until at least after the next election. Mr Kohl said he is prepared to waive the requirement that Britain should return to the exchange rate mechanism for two years before qualifying for monetary union, thereby enabling Britain to join as soon as the political decision is made.



Cold turkey island... Alcoholics and drug victims are to be treated on a 'temptation-free' sea fort used by gunners crews during the second world war. The Bull Sands Fort in the Humber estuary has been bought by the charity Streetwise as a base for 30-day detoxification treatment sessions. PHOTO: ROSS PARRY

MoD ignored warning on Gulf war vaccines

Richard Norton-Taylor

A COCKTAIL of drugs was given to British troops in the Gulf war despite an official warning about the risks involved, the Government admitted for the first time last week.

It also disclosed that three senior officials had been disciplined after a separate inquiry into how ministers had misled Parliament over the use of highly dangerous organophosphate pesticides during the conflict.

The disclosures, broadly welcomed by groups representing veterans suffering from alleged Gulf war syndrome, were made by the armed forces minister, John Reid.

Dr Reid said an internal inquiry had found the Ministry of Defence was warned by the Department of Health in 1990 about "anxiety" over the simultaneous use of anthrax vaccine and pertussis (whooping cough) vaccine unlicensed for adults.

It had not been possible, he said, to establish if the concerns were deliberately ignored or an official forgot to pass them to those administering the drugs — used to counter the effects of chemical and biological weapons. An MoD report said the health

department faxed it a warning from an animal testing laboratory urging further tests on the two-drug cocktail before it was given to humans. The report said the fax was overlooked "in the extremely busy period leading up to the Gulf conflict".

It said the fax was not logged for 10 days, was not marked by the official who received it for anyone else to consider, and a search of files found no copies of the fax.

No one at the MoD, other than the official to whom the fax was addressed, remembered discussing the matter with the laboratory. But scientists at the laboratory said they discussed their concerns with two or three MoD officials.

No MoD official has been disciplined over the affair. However, Dr Reid said a senior civil servant had been reprimanded, and two officers disciplined, for providing ministers with misleading information on the use of pesticides in the Gulf conflict.

The Royal British Legion welcomed the MoD's admissions. But Manchester solicitors Donna, acting for more than 1,500 veterans, said Dr Reid had demonstrated there had been negligence at the heart of government.

Urgent review of breast units

EVERY breast cancer screening unit in Britain has been ordered to review its service to restore public confidence, improve quality and eliminate organisational weaknesses, writes Chris Millill.

The Health Secretary, Frank Dobson, this week announced an overhaul of screening programmes following recommendations by the Chief Medical Officer, Sir Kenneth Calman, who had investigated reports of failures in the breast cancer screening service at the Royal Devon and Exeter NHS Trust.

All NHS trusts with breast cancer screening units have been told to report by the end of January on how they will deliver a "high quality service". They will be expected to agree "action plans" by the end of February to ensure national standards are being met. Responsibility for the quality of breast screening services will be taken away from trusts and two officers disciplined, for providing ministers with misleading information on the use of pesticides in the Gulf conflict.

Mr Dobson told MPs: "Women in east Devon have been put through worry, anguish and worse as a result of the failures of the screening service at the Royal Devon and Exeter."

An audit of 1,920 breast X-rays commissioned by the trust found that 229 women should have been called for further assessment.

In Brief

THE Government announced the end of exclusion orders and the power of internment, two of the most controversial measures brought in to combat the IRA.

A PIONEERING police scheme that dispenses "Maori justice" to teenage offenders is to go national after success in a test project. Teenage criminals are brought face to face with their victims to apologise and come to terms with the consequences of their crimes.

PSYCHOPATHIC patients at Ashworth top security hospital had such control over their unit that hardcore pornography was on sale and one man ran several businesses from his room, an inquiry heard. There were also allegations of child abuse on the premises.

LASER pointers, pen-sized gadgets that emit an intense pinpoint beam, were banned from sale after attacks on bus drivers, firefighters and footballers.

MAJOR Eric Juyce, the army officer who accused the armed forces of being steeped in social, sexual and racial prejudice, has been told he will not face the court martial he expected.

BBRITISH ferry companies are facing a massive bill to fly home Czech and Slovakian refugees after they were refused permission to pass back through France. The companies are legally responsible for the repatriation of Gypsies who have withdrawn their asylum claims.

PRINCE CHARLES'S nine-day tour of southern Africa became an all-out charm offensive when he joked with reporters, hinted at the need to reform the monarchy, revealed a detailed knowledge of the Spice Girls, and came close to apologising for Britain's conduct during the Anglo-Zulu war.

SIX IRAQIS opposed to Saddam Hussein's regime were found guilty of hijacking a Sudan Airways Airbus and forcing it to land at Stansted airport. But the jury called for a degree of compassion given the background of the defendants, who had argued that they acted out of "necessity" as their lives were in danger.

KRISHNA Maharaaj, a British businessman convicted of a double murder in the United States 10 years ago, was taken off Death Row and will be reinstated. His lawyers welcomed the move as a limited success — he had been hoping for a retrial.

CADBURY'S Swiss Choclet chocolate bar became the latest casualty in the long-running European chocolate war when a High Court judge ordered its withdrawal after complaints from a Swiss trade association.

The Sun is a daily newspaper published in the United Kingdom. It is one of the largest-selling newspapers in the world, with a circulation of over 2 million copies per day. The paper is known for its sensational headlines and tabloid-style reporting.

Woman wins right to die with dignity

Clare Dyer

A TERMINALLY ill woman dropped her historic High Court battle for a ruling that her doctor could lawfully ease her death with drugs, after being assured that she could have her wish.

Annie Lindell, aged 47, who has only weeks to live, sought a declaration that her doctor could administer drugs to prevent the mental or physical distress of the final stages of motor neurone disease. But she discontinued her battle after the judge and lawyers appointed by the Official Solicitor and the Attorney General agreed that no court ruling was needed.

The case hinged on the so-called doctrine of double effect, first ex-

pounded by Lord Devlin in the case of John Bodkin Adams, the doctor who in 1957 was charged with murder but acquitted after "easing the passing" of several patients.

This states that a doctor may give a patient doses of a pain-killing drug that shortens her life, so long as the intention is to relieve pain and suffering and not to kill. If the intention were euthanasia, the doctor could face a murder charge.

The doctrine was revisited three years ago by the House of Lords select committee on medical ethics, which stated that drugs could be given to relieve "pain and distress".

The question in Ms Lindell's case was whether this covered the mental distress caused by inability to swallow and undergoing chocking

fits in the final stages of motor neurone disease. Ms Lindell had seen the misery in which several friends with the disease ended their lives, and wanted to ensure a peaceful ending for herself, surrounded by her loved ones.

She sought a declaration that her doctor, Simon Holmes, could lawfully administer diamorphine when she reached the stage where she attempts to swallow causing her to choke, causing her severe mental or physical distress, though not necessarily physical pain.

Ms Lindell, a former flight attendant who was diagnosed with the muscle-wasting disease in 1992, is looked after 24 hours a day by her partner of 19 years, Ron Hicks, and a male friend. She was in court in a

wheelchair to hear her counsel, Lord Lester QC, halt the action.

She said later: "All parties before the court, including the Attorney General, agreed that a doctor acting to relieve his patient's mental distress by administering palliative drugs, in the way proposed by (Dr Holmes) with my whole-hearted consent, would be acting lawfully even though this treatment will probably have the incidental effect of shortening a patient's life."

Lord Lester told Sir Stephen Brown, President of the Family Division, that all of the evidence before the court had established that the course of treatment proposed was in accordance with a "responsible body of good medical practice".

In the light of the evidence, Holmes, who had wanted a declaration from the court that he could lawfully proceed, had now to advise agreed he would give the proposed course of treatment when the time came.

Dr Holmes' advisers had been concerned because of cases a few months ago in which doctors who said they had helped their patients die were interviewed by police.

Ms Lindell, of Teddington, and west London, nodded and made "Thank you" after the judge said that he "thoroughly approved and endorsed" the discontinuance.

Sir Stephen said: "I very much hope that the doctors will help to focus on an important part of their practice and the law."

He hoped doctors would be assured of the public's great confidence in them.

Doctors urge euthanasia for PVS victims

Chris Mitchell

PATIENTS in a persistent vegetative state who are to be allowed to die should be given lethal injections and their organs taken for transplant, an international team of doctors and lawyers said last week.

The idea was criticised by the British Medical Association and condemned as repulsive and immoral by "pro-life" groups.

However, it was supported by the parents of Tony Bland, the Liverpool football fan who suffered an irreversible coma after the Hillsborough tragedy and was allowed to die after a long court battle.

The suggestion to harvest coma victims comes from a working party known as the International Forum for Transplant Ethics. It is headed by Sir Raymond Hoffenberg, former president of the Royal College of Physicians. Other British members include Ian Kennedy, professor of law and ethics at King's College, London, and Robert Sells, professor of transplant medicine at Liverpool University.

The working group says that once a decision has been made to withdraw treatment in persistent vegetative state (PVS) patients, and to allow them to die, thought should be given to saving the lives of people on transplant lists. Withdrawing food and water means death takes place over a 10-12 day period, and because of dehydration and other changes the organs become damaged and cannot be used for transplantation.

To allow them to be used, the person would have to be killed, probably with a lethal injection. However, this is at present against the law.

The doctors say administering a lethal drug would be more humane than a long-drawn-out death, and they can see no moral distinction between allowing someone to die by starvation and actively ending life.

Jack Scarsbrick, director of Life, described the proposal as morally unacceptable and a corruption of medicine. He said the condition of PVS was uncertain, and some patients had been known to recover.

Helen Watt, of the Linacre Centre, the Catholic medical ethics research unit, said: "It is a fairly repulsive suggestion. Seriously ill people should not be treated as organ banks. The end doesn't justify the means."



Those boots were made for riding... Hunters stand together in Worcester during a meeting to launch the final drive against a ban on fox hunting proposed by the local MP, Mike Foster. Mr Foster's bill is due to receive its second reading on November 28, but the Government has refused to allocate it more than the standard amount of parliamentary time for a private member's bill. It is therefore likely to fall prey to filibustering by pro-hunting MPs.

'Joint guilt' law softened

THE 500-year-old law of "joint enterprise" — which led to a teenager being jailed for life for aiding a policeman though he was handcuffed and 100 yards away from the stabbing — was altered last week by five law lords, writes Clare Dyer.

The landmark ruling softens a much-criticised law, which previously said that if two or more people together took part in a crime, activity and one of them killed, the others would also be responsible.

In future, a secondary party will be guilty of murder only if he or she saw that the killer might have intended to kill or cause serious harm.

Phillip English's conviction for the murder of Sgt Bill Ford, Gateshead in March 1993 was overturned by the Court of Appeal after the law lords ruled that he should never have been convicted.

The police officer was stabbed by Paul Weddie, then aged 25, who was a friend of English. The 15-year-old insisted that he was unaware that Weddie had a knife. The prosecution accepted that this was possible.

Derek Bentley was executed in 1953 after being convicted of murder under the law of joint enterprise.

New measures to fight racism in police

Duncan Campbell

NEW tests for joining the police are to be introduced to try to increase the numbers of officers from ethnic minorities, the Home Secretary, Jack Straw, announced last week.

The move comes in response to a survey which shows that a "canteen culture" still exists in the service and that some middle-ranking officers are still reluctant to challenge racist "banter".

Many officers from ethnic minorities felt isolated within the police, the survey found. There was also a high level of "wastage" amongst them.

The survey, conducted by Her Majesty's Inspectorate into police community and race relations, concluded that although much had been achieved by the police in the last decade, some forces and officers were still failing to combat racism as effectively as they could.

"There was continuing evi-

dence... of inappropriate language and behaviour by police officers, but even more worrying was the lack of intervention by sergeants and inspectors," concluded the survey.

It visited six forces: Avon and Somerset, Bedfordshire, Leicestershire, Merseyside, West Midlands and West Yorkshire.

"Potential supervisors demonstrated a reluctance to challenge colleagues who indulged in racist 'banter' and racist behaviour," the report added.

"Many ethnic minority officers felt unsupported by management and were left to rely on support from colleagues of a similar background."

The inspection, led by Inspector Dan Crompton, found that sergeants were the weakest link in the management of community and race relations.

They were the least likely to understand their responsibilities in this area. Forces also failed to recognise

the value of community beat officers, said the HMI report. It recommended that recruitment and promotion procedures should "test individuals' attitudes towards race and diversity".

Mr Straw announced that a revised recruitment test would be introduced in January. It would remove phrases or wording frequently found by ethnic minority candidates to be open to misunderstanding, a Home Office spokeswoman said.

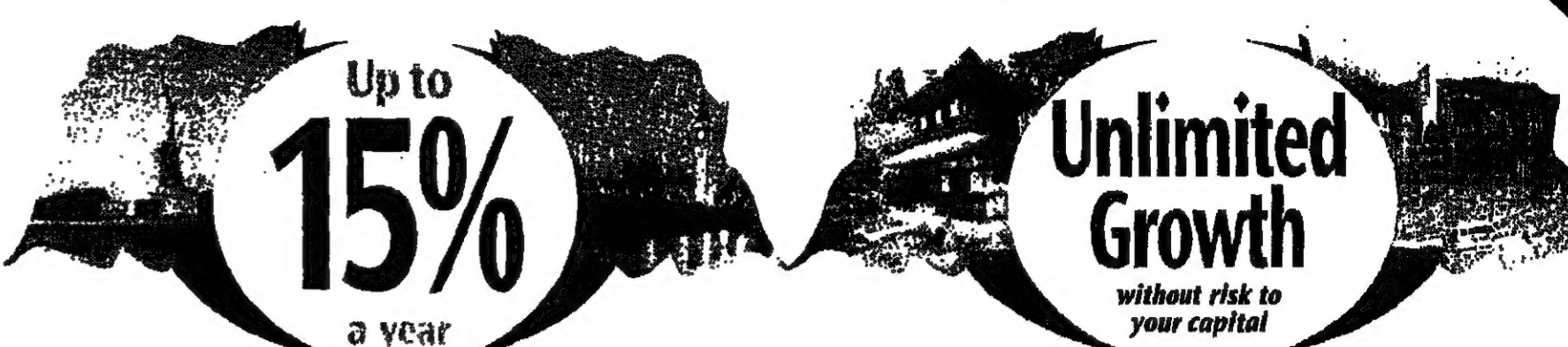
There will also be a task force and a national conference in one year's time dealing with recruitment and retention of black and Asian officers.

Inspector Paul Wilson, chairman of the Black Police Association, said it welcomed the report but added: "Policy alone is ineffective. We need not only commitment from our leadership but also action."

David Blakey, president of the Association of Chief Police Officers and chief constable of

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Paris obeys Brussels and turns Loire green

Adrien Favreau

AFTER years of procrastination, France has finally decided to apply the European Union's environmental legislation to the estuary of the river Loire. With its 40,000 hectares of wetlands, the estuary is regarded by EU experts as an area that has considerable ecological interest beyond France's borders.

In September, the French government listed it as a special protection area (SPA) after Brussels, irritated by a 10-year delay, had threatened penalties. It means that, in accordance with the European directives on birds and habitat, no major developments may take place in a 18,700-hectare zone in the estuary.

The decision has delighted environmentalists but has upset

those in favour of extending the port installations of Nantes and the neighbouring town of St-Nazaire.

"The estuary is not a green zone, but a strategic economic activity zone," says Alain Mustière, president of Nantes' chamber of commerce. The thorniest problem is the Donges-Est site, where there is already a scheme to fill in an area of 150 hectares of wetlands so that new docks can become operational by the time much of the neighbouring Montoir docks reaches saturation point in 2005.

"The Donges-Est development has been scheduled and must be carried through," says Luc Dejoie, the neo-Gaullist president of the Loire-Atlantique regional council. "On an issue as vital as this, a government

should be able to decide what it wants to do in its own country." The mayors of St-Nazaire and Nantes have also come out in favour of developing Donges-Est.

The Socialist deputy for Loire-Atlantique, Claude Evin, toes the same line, pointing out that the project squares with existing government-driven regional development schemes. He says that France is merely required "to inform Brussels of its plans to receive an advisory opinion".

Environmental protection associations and Green party deputies and councillors interpret EU legislation differently. Mireille Ferri, a Green who sits on the Nantes municipal and regional councils, thinks that leading local politicians and estuary technicians have underestimated the powers of EU legislation.

"Before Donges-Est can be developed, Brussels' opinion will need to be heard," she says. "But the government will have to prove that it is a scheme of major interest, that there is no alternative solution, and that compensation for any prejudice suffered is provided."

Given the number of protected bird species found in the Loire estuary, the European Commission would not be allowed, under the terms of the directive on habitat, to take up the case itself if a development were to go ahead against its will. But a complaint by an association or by local elected representatives would enable it to refer the case to the European Court of Justice.

"Of course a complaint would be lodged if Donges-Est were developed," says Ferri. "And if France were condemned, EU aid to the estuary would be frozen." (October 28)

Wolves stir up a row in the Alps

Philippe Révil

ARE wolves recolonising the northern French Alps? Rumours of this have grown over the past few months in the départements of Hautes-Alpes and Savoie, and in the Quercy region, where some hunters claim to have spotted wolves recently.

Sheep farmers have been the first to cry wolf. As their summer season in the mountains came to an end, they decided to try to cut the losses by sleeping near their flocks, which roam the high pastures around Mont Cenis.

"I've been sounding the alarm for three years," says Jean Blanc, a farmers' leader in the Haute-Maurienne area and president of the Docteur-sur-Arce hunting association.

Savoyard sheep farmers estimate that 150 sheep, ewes and goats have been killed or have disappeared in the past few months. But the local authorities claim the death toll is much lower: they say 17 animals have been attacked by either stray dogs or wolves.

The presence of wolves has not been confirmed by local nature experts. "It's probable but not certain," says Cyrille Van Effenterre, director of agriculture and forests in Savoie. "We have found traces of a large member of the Canidae family, which could be a wolf. We are currently analysing pawprints and sheep carcasses."

However, the local authorities argue that even if there is no confirmation in the near future of the presence of wolves, the animals will turn up eventually, and local inhabitants should be prepared. The number of wolves, which are protected by the 1979 Bern Convention, is growing in western Europe. There are thought to be 450 in Italy and 2,500 in Spain and Portugal.

"The animals can travel great distances and are not held up by such natural barriers as the Alps or the Pyrenees. There has been considerable controversy over the presence of wolves in the Parc National du Mercantour. In the mountains above Nice, where several wolf cubs have been born. Once they are weaned, young males are chased off by the dominant male of the pack and have to find new territory."

But while humans are afraid of wolves, wolves are much more afraid of human beings. The animals are extremely wary but are easily attracted by sheep, a favourite prey.

"They're allowing wolves to get established on our land, whereas our grandparents managed to get rid of them," says one angry sheep farmer. "There are no plans to reintroduce this predator," says Emmanuel de Guillebon, director of the Parc de la Vanoise in Savoie, and president of the association of national park directors. Although he admits that wolves wreak havoc among some herds of sheep, he thinks that they are, above all, "a source of fantasies".

(October 25)

Le Monde

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Jiang Admits Possible Tiananmen ErrorsJohn Pomfret and Lena H. Sun
in Cambridge, Massachusetts

CHINESE President Jiang Zemin for the first time in public used the words "mistakes" and "shortcomings" in response to a question at Harvard last weekend about the 1989 crackdown on student-led protests around Beijing's Tiananmen Square.

The 71-year-old leader did not repudiate the suppression of the demonstrations against corruption and one party rule, and used the terms in an oblique reference to Tiananmen. But his remarks after a speech at Harvard University marked the second time during a weeklong tour of the United States that Jiang has surprised China watchers by departing from a formulaic justification of his country's limits on human rights and political dissent.

"It goes without saying that naturally we may have shortcomings and even make some mistakes in our work, however we've been working on a constant basis to improve our work," Jiang said, answering a question about why the Communist Party had chosen confrontation over dialogue in dealing with Chinese students in 1989.

The suppression of the student sit-in on Tiananmen Square left hundreds dead and hundreds more either jailed or exiled. The crackdown badly damaged U.S.-China relations and, more than eight years later, cast a shadow over last week's U.S.-China summit, the first since 1989 and designed by both governments as an opportunity to outline common interests and areas of cooperation.

Jiang's appearance at Harvard was met by the largest, loudest, and most emotional protest of his U.S. visit. As drizzle turned into a chilling rain, a throng of activists chanting slogans for freedom and democracy in China and Tibet and "Shame on Harvard" overwhelmed a competing group of Chinese student organizations who waved



Police hold back Tibetan protesters outside a New York hotel where President Jiang was meeting US business leaders. PHOTO: MIKE SEGAR

Chinese and American flags to welcome the Chinese leader.

Although protests have shadowed Jiang at every stop, he had been well shielded from demonstrators before last Saturday. As his motorcade of black limousines arrived outside Memorial Hall on the Harvard campus, Jiang came within a few yards of several hundred demonstrators. He was confronted by huge white and black "Free Tibet" banners and Chinese dissidents bellowing in Mandarin over loudspeakers, "Down with Jiang Zemin," "Down with One Party Dictatorship," and "Jiang Zemin Go Home!" One protester set a small Chinese flag alight.

Throughout his 45-minute speech the muffled yells of protesters outside filtered into Sanders Theater, which is part of Memorial Hall. Jiang's statements about Tiananmen probably do not presage an immediate change of policy, as the Chinese government has moved in recent years to silence political dissent even as it embraces more open markets. In Beijing, reports earlier this year that some Communist Party officials were pushing for a re-

evaluation of the Tiananmen Square crackdown have not yielded a change in the government's position which has termed the demonstrations a "counter-revolutionary rebellion" and has denied that they were motivated by patriotism.

In a press conference last week in Washington with President Clinton, Jiang called the Tiananmen demonstrations "political disturbances" and defended the violence against demonstrators as "necessary measures according to the law."

Still, Merle Goldman, a professor of Chinese history at Boston University, said she found Jiang's use of the two words — mistakes and shortcomings — unprecedented. "The very fact that he admitted there were problems in the broader context was very unusual," she said.

The remarks last Saturday marked the second time on this trip that Jiang appears to have breached publicly subjects that Chinese leaders have considered taboo. On Thursday last week, for example, in a speech in Washington, Jiang predictably defended China's policy in Tibet, saying people in that troubled part of China are living "in happiness and contentment."

But Jiang also said: "We believe that without democracy, there can be no modernization." The statement was remarkable, Goldman and other China watchers have noted, because it was an echo of assertions made by China's most famous dissident, Wei Jingsheng, who was jailed in 1979 for uttering the same thing. Wei has spent all but six months of the last 18 years in jail.

Steven Maizson in Beijing adds: China quietly has released updated information on eight political prisoners in response to a campaign by an American business consultant, John Kanin, to obtain details about their sentences, alleged crimes, current health and prison status from China's secretive jail system.

Three of the eight have had their sentences slightly reduced; one was released in June.

U.S. Seeks \$1bn to Clear Land Mines

Bradley Graham

THE United States announced plans last week to try to boost international spending on efforts to remove land mines by more than 500 percent over the coming decade — to \$1 billion a year — and clear the world of all mines that threaten civilian populations by 2010.

The unilateral initiative is an attempt by the Clinton administration to reassert a leading role in anti-mine activities after its controversial decision in September not to join scores of other nations in an agreement to ban land mines. Anti-mine activists welcomed the move, but cautioned that added money alone would not ensure faster progress in the task of locating and removing an estimated 100 million mines in more than 60 countries.

Outlining the plan at a news conference, Secretary of State Madeleine K. Albright said the United States intended to double its own spending on mine-clearing — to \$77 million next year — and would persuade foreign governments, international financial organizations and other public and private sources to reach the new program's ambitious goal. To this end, the Clinton administration intends to host a donors' conference in Washington next year.

While the focus of a growing international anti-mine movement has been on banning such weapons altogether, Albright suggested the emphasis should be on eliminating mines already in place, many of them left over from long-ago conflicts in poor countries.

"This call for a concerted effort by the international community is based on the premise that the best way to protect civilians from land mines is to pull mines from the soil like the noxious weeds that they are," she said.

Much of the existing international mine-clearing effort has remained loosely coordinated at best, and, as Albright noted, "the most common tool we have for detecting land mines is still a stick attached to a person's arm."

But administration officials involved in drafting the initiative acknowledged that it was developed quickly over the past few weeks, with many details still to come. They could offer no specific projections about U.S. spending on mine-clearing beyond the fiscal year 1998 and said discussions with other potential key donor nations were just beginning.

Asked how the \$1 billion target was chosen, Karl F. Inderfurth, the State Department official named to coordinate the initiative, suggested it was more an attention-getting device than any firm calculation of the true cost of clearing the world of mines.

Papon's career built on 'a pack of lies'Jean-Luc Einaudi
exposes the deceit of a man on trial for crimes against humanity

IT WAS in my capacity as author of *La Bataille de Paris*, 17 October 1961 (Seuil, 1991), that I was twice summoned as a witness at the current trial of Maurice Papon in Bordeaux. On the first occasion, on October 16, I recalled his action in Algeria in 1956-58, then his time as head of the Paris police. I was summoned a second time, on October 21, to be confronted with a defence witness, Roger Chahx.

Papon spoke after the confrontation. As the accused is always allowed the last word, I was unable on that occasion to answer a number of blatant lies he told with extraordinary aplomb.

I shall deliberately avoid discussing the most abominable of his lies — his claim, lying in the face of all the evidence, that on the night of October 17, 1961 [when some 200 Algerian demonstrators were killed by the Paris police], only three deaths resulted from the demonstration, and that the Algerians found dead in the river Seine had been killed by other Algerians who were settling scores.

Papon said he had not taken legal action against my book because he had not read it, and was therefore unaware of its contents. He added that he now regretted not having sued. But in October 1991, a month after the book came out, Jean-Pierre Elkabbach interviewed Papon on television and, at one point, disagreeing with his version of the facts, said: "In Jean-Luc Einaudi's very interesting book... there are both documents and an hour-by-hour description of what was going on in Paris."

Papon retorted: "Yes, but there's another very interesting book. And he proffered his own book, *Les Chevaux du Pouvoir*. At the end of the programme Elkabbach said to Papon: 'I'll give you Einaudi's book in case you haven't read it yet.' Papon replied: 'I have it.'"

He had known my book and its contents for six years. If he did not take legal action... it was simply because he feared the consequences of a court case where witnesses, victims, former policemen, former soldiers and commentators would have taken the stand and de-



Police arrest Algerians in Puteaux, west of Paris, in October 1961. Up to 200 Algerian demonstrators were killed while Papon was Paris police chief in 1961. The official figure was three deaths

scribed what really happened on October 17, 1961.

In giving evidence, I reminded the court that at a Paris city council meeting of October 27, 1961, Papon failed to answer some very specific questions posed by Claude Bourdet.

They included: "Is it true that a great number of wounded and dead were hit by bullets of the same calibre, made by a leading manufacturer that supplies the police with ammunition? That a large number of those bullets were fired at point-blank range? Is it true that some 50 demonstrators apparently arrested in the Boulevard St-Michel area died at police headquarters? Is it true that many bodies were fished out of the Seine? In press circles... there has been talk of 150 bodies being fished out of the water between Paris and Rouen. Is that true?"

In the course of his long speech before the Bordeaux court, Papon brandished a text which he said was a last-minute piece of evidence. And he claimed that, contrary to what I had said, he had proof that he had answered Bourdet's questions. But the document was in fact no more than the text of his own speech before the Paris city council on October 27, 1961, which contained no

answer to Bourdet's questions. What he did say then was: "The Paris police simply did what it had to do."

Earlier, Papon had already tried to pull the wool over the court's eyes by stating, through his lawyer, that he had taken action against Bourdet for his remarks and won his case. While it is true that he took action against Bourdet, it was not over his accusatory questions, but over his remark that "from 1956 to 1958 in Constantine he was one of the most ferocious architects of repression". The case against Bourdet, sued for "insulting a civil servant", was dismissed in February 1964.

Papon claims that a former leader of the French federation of the Algerian National Liberation Front (FLN), Ali Haroun, paid tribute to him in a book — a fact that would have given him the image of a respected enemy and certainly not someone capable of giving orders to murderers of Algerians. The book, *La 7ème Wilaya*, came out in 1986. It contains no such tribute. On the contrary, it is a scathing indictment of crimes for which Haroun holds Papon responsible.

When he referred to the number of victims on October 17, 1961, Papon persisted in sticking to the

figure of three, as he had 36 years earlier. One of them, he said, was a Frenchman, whose heart gave out under the shock and whose post-mortem revealed him to be suffering from a heart complaint.

The brief extract from the Paris public prosecutor's archives published by the daily *Liberation* last week confirms that the man concerned, Guy Chevalier, died as a result not of a heart attack but of voluntary manslaughter.

These are just some of the cases where Papon has been caught lying blatantly, putting forward his version of the facts with great self-assurance, as though it were the gospel truth.

I recall with horror as I think of all those years when a much younger Papon held a position of great responsibility that relied heavily on lies. I recall the remark he made at Montrouge police station on October 2, 1961: "When you tell headquarters that a North African has been shot dead, the superintendent who visits the scene must take steps to ensure that the North African was carrying a gun." That is what Papon used to describe as "subversive warfare".

(October 25)

Hussein Says Netanyahu Betrayed Trust

John Lancaster in Amman

KING Hussein of Jordan, infuriated by the recent Israeli attempt to kill a political leader of the militant Islamic group Hamas here, says that his trust in Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu has all but evaporated and that only a much more vigorous diplomatic effort by the United States can prevent the collapse of Arab-Israeli peace negotiations.

In an interview last week, the Jordanian monarch accused Netanyahu of repeatedly betraying him, most recently and most audaciously by dispatching Mossad secret service assassins on a botched mission to poison a Hamas politburo member, Khaled Mehal, in Amman in September.

Hussein also faulted the United States for the deterioration in Arab-Israeli relations, urging Washington to play a much more active role in pressing Israel to abandon policies — such as building settlements in the West Bank — that he says are pushing the region toward an "explosion."

"The United States, with its tremendous influence and impact on this area and all the people of the region, and its position in the world, should move from being a messenger to being actively involved," Hussein said in the interview at Basman Palace, overlooking the capital. "It just cannot carry on continuing to deliver messages from one side to another."

The comments by Hussein, one of Washington's closest Arab allies, constitute a challenge to Secretary of State Madeleine K. Albright, who said during a tour of the region in September that she will not return until Israel and the Palestinians demonstrate a greater commitment to peace. They also reflect his sense of betrayal: Alone among Arab leaders, and despite intense political opposition at home, Hussein has pursued normal, friendly relations with Israel, with which Jordan made peace in 1994.

In somber and at times despairing tones, Hussein, 61, said he has virtually run out of ideas on how to deal with the right-wing Israeli

leader. He accused Netanyahu of repeatedly breaching commitments to his Arab negotiating partners and pandering to extremist elements in Israel's body politic. Far from enhancing Israel's security, he said, such tactics are fanning the flames of Arab radicalism and could lead to a new "balance of fear" between Israel and hostile neighbors armed with weapons of mass destruction.

"It was an act against Jordan itself, its integrity and its sovereignty, and the results were devastating to the trust we had built so far," Hussein said of the September 25 assassination attempt on Mehal, a Jordanian citizen.

Hussein cautioned that he is not abandoning Jordan's policy of "normalization" with Israel. The two countries are continuing discussions on issues such as water rights, tourism and trade. The desert kingdom of nearly 45 million people, more than half of them Palestinian, is one of the few Arab states that has committed publicly to sending delegates to a U.S.-sponsored economic conference in the Persian

Gulf state of Qatar next month. Israel also will attend.

"If we cannot in certain areas see any real tangible progress it doesn't mean that we close the doors and go back to square one," he said.

But Hussein also made clear that he is increasingly inclined to draw a distinction between Netanyahu and the Israeli people, a majority of whom he still believes are committed to making peace with the Arabs. "It is a very fair distinction, and it's a very serious distinction in my mind," Hussein said.

Hussein confirmed reports that only two days before the attempt on Mehal's life, he had relayed a message to Israel on behalf of Hamas leaders broaching the possibility of a 10-year moratorium on violence. Netanyahu has defended the attack on Mehal on grounds that Hamas was behind recent suicide bombings in Jerusalem.

Hussein said the episode has left him at a loss about how to proceed in his relationship with Netanyahu. "In the past I had a partner," he said in reference to Rabin, who was assassinated two years ago and with whom he was particularly close. "But now I don't know where we are."

The Washington Post

Sever Criminal Links, Japan Bosses Told

Sandra Sugawara in Tokyo

AN EXTRAORDINARY meeting was due to take place this week at the Tokyo headquarters of the Keidanren, the voice of Big Business in Japan. Hundreds of captains of industry were planning to gather in a large conference room on the 12th floor to hear Shochiro Toyoda, the 72-year-old chairman of Toyota Motor Corp., ask them to cut their ties to the Japanese underworld once and for all.

The message from Toyoda, who heads the Keidanren, is in part an appeal to self-interest. The gathering has been called as Japanese prosecutors are intensifying an assault against the many corporations that pay off extortionists known as *sokaiya*.

The list of companies already caught in the investigation reads like a Who's Who of corporate Japan. This year, authorities have arrested senior-level executives at Mitsubishi Motor Corp., Matsuzaki department store, Nomura Securities, Nikko Securities Co.,

Yamaichi Securities Co., Daiwa Securities Co., Dai-ichi Kangyo Bank Ltd. and the Ajinomoto food product company.

Numerous other corporations are under investigation, according to media reports, including Mitsubishi Electric Corp., Toshiba Corp., Hitachi Ltd., and Asahi Bank.

Japan has a reputation as the world's premier low-crime society. But in many communities, organized criminals operate. Gangsters run prostitution, drug and protection rackets. They act as for-hire debt collectors. Many Japanese see them as part of the neighborhood, a group that has always been there and always will be.

The criminals who target the corporate world take advantage of Japanese society's dictum to preserve order at all costs. Typically, they threaten to disclose unfavorable information about a company at a shareholders' meeting or in a newsletter, or even on the Internet. For years, companies have treated payments to buy silence as a routine cost of doing business.

But a bigger embarrassment than

questions at a shareholder meeting is footage on the evening news of authorities raiding a corporate headquarters.

"Many top executives are at a loss," said Hideaki Kubori, a Tokyo attorney who specializes in fighting *sokaiya*. "The investigations are spreading quickly to different industries and the management doesn't understand what it means."

Some executives, however, have decided it means they have to make a clean break. About 1,200 Japanese companies have so far declared that they have severed ties with *sokaiya*, Tokyo police announced last month.

Kubori said the government has made previous attempts to rid the corporate world of *sokaiya*, but that this time it is different. He said an aggressive group of prosecutors has taken charge of the investigations since the arrest in May of a *sokaiya* with alleged ties to Nomura Securities.

"They thought it was not good for Japanese capitalism that the core of its business practices is corrupted by *sokaiya*," Kubori said.

Many government officials, including Prime Minister Ryutaro Hashimoto, realize that this type of corruption must be wiped out if Japan's economy is truly to open to the world, said one Japanese analyst. Patterns of hidden extortion payments prevent the kind of truthful financial disclosure that global investors increasingly demand in markets where they put their money.

Because such payments are illegal — both for companies and the mobsters — the payments are often disguised. For instance, police allege that Mitsubishi Motor and other companies paid more than \$75,000 to a company run by a *sokaiya*'s wife, supposedly for the use of a beach house.

With the public subjected to a steady stream of news stories about investigations and raids at some of Japan's best known and respected companies, the government has been pushed to act as well. The cabinet recently endorsed and forwarded to the Diet proposals to strengthen punishment for these kinds of crimes.

Christians Failed Jews, Pope Says

Lee Hocketader in Rome

POPE John Paul II last week condemned the actions of many Christians before and during the Holocaust, telling a Vatican conference that the Christian world contributed to the rise of anti-Semitism and then failed to fight it as Jews were being slaughtered during World War II.

But while the pope's statement was his strongest on the subject to date, he stopped short of issuing an apology for alleged actions or inactions of the church or those of his controversial wartime predecessor, Pope Pius XII. Some Jewish groups have demanded an apology and criticized the Vatican for failing to come to terms fully with its role.

"In the Christian world — I am not saying on the part of the church as such — the wrong and unjust interpretations of the New Testament relating to the Jewish people and their supposed guilt [in Christ's death] circulated for too long, engendering sentiments of hostility toward this people," said the 77-year-old pontiff.

"This contributed to a killing of consciences, so that when Europe was engulfed by a wave of persecutions inspired by a pagan anti-Semitism... the spiritual resistance of many was not what humanity had a right to expect from the disciples of Christ."

The remarks by the pope, delivered in French at a Vatican symposium on the roots of anti-Semitism in Christian teachings since the time of Christ, were blunt by the Vatican's standards. Until the 1960s, the idea of Jewish guilt for the death of Christ was accepted by the church. Although that concept has since been repudiated, it wasn't until today that the Vatican has specifically associated it with the rise of Hitler.

"This is probably the Pope's clearest acknowledgment of the role of bad Christian teachings... in paving the way for the success of the Nazis and anti-Semitism," said Eugene Flanagan, an ecumenical specialist of the U.S. National Conference of Catholic Bishops in Washington.

But to some Jewish organizations, the pontiff's comments, while welcome, did not go far enough. They criticized the pope for failing to lay out fully the Vatican's World War II abhorrent actions, reviving a post-war historical debate that has never really been resolved. The Vatican remained neutral during the conflict.

"The statement is a breath of fresh air in what has been... a dismal record of the church's failure to say these things openly and honestly," said Rabbi Marvin Hier, founder of the Simon Wiesenthal Center in Los Angeles. He added, however, that a papal apology would be useful as "a lesson to future generations that the church got the message and it will never happen again — that everyone has to assume responsibility and no one is above the spiritual or legal law."

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Open and Shut Case On Foreign Funds

Kenneth J. Cooper in New Delhi

WHEN MEDIA baron Rupert Murdoch beamed the first private television shows into India in 1991, breaking a government monopoly on the small screen, foreign ownership of satellite TV networks was unrestricted. Murdoch led a boom in the broadcasting market and now owns an interest in six channels available in India.

But a new coalition government is moving to cap ownership by the harsh Australian American and other foreign broadcasters. Last year, a draft of comprehensive broadcasting legislation set a limit on the share of channels that can be foreign-owned at 25 percent; the proposed limit has since been raised to 49 percent. Some lawmakers across the political spectrum have pushed for a complete ban.

India has made a similar reversal on civil aviation. Following a 1993 court decision overturning the 40-year monopoly of the state-owned domestic airline, the government let two Persian Gulf airlines own a combined 40 percent stake in what has become the nation's most successful private carrier.

But under a new policy adopted this year, Kuwait Airlines and Gulf Air will have to divest their holdings in Jet Airways, and Singapore Airlines will not be permitted to join India's oldest and largest industrial conglomerate in financing a new airline. The current policy of Prime Minister I.K. Gujral's Cabinet does allow foreign investors to own as much as 40 percent of a domestic carrier — as long as those investors are not other airlines.

In the six years since India officially abandoned a socialist path and opened its door wider to private capital from abroad, that door has creaked back and forth in the political gusts blowing here in the capital, producing inconsistent policies that have bewildered prospective investors from India and abroad. Judging from emotional parliamentary debates on foreign investment, during which distressed critics have warned that an influx of international capital will put India's sovereignty and security at risk, a million anxieties have gripped this nation of 950 million and stalled economic change.

The amount of direct investment that has stirred those fears is relatively low. In each of the last six years, less than \$2.5 billion from abroad has flowed into a \$1 trillion economy. Still, xenophobia has been directed at multinational companies, primarily ones based in the United States, India's biggest trading partner and largest foreign investor.

"Slowly, you are giving away everything to the multinational companies," Chandra Shekhar, a former prime minister, warned Parliament in August. "The way the [financial] capital of the country has been sold to foreigners, the way they have captured our industry is enough to hang our heads in shame... The country is compromising its sovereignty."

What is it that has bred so much insecurity here — a developing nation of immense proportions, one with extensive natural resources, more skilled technicians than any country except the United States, the capacity to make nuclear weapons and one of the world's largest armies?

In the opinion of the two finance ministers who have guided the economic changes, India remains haunted by the British East India Company. There is a recurrent nightmare that wily foreigners will come here under the guise of commerce but take control as exploitive rulers — just as the British did when they came to trade in 1609 but did not leave until 1947. Many older Indians also have difficulty breaking a habit of mind formed during decades of Soviet-style central planning — the idea that terrible disruptions will occur if government does not control every aspect of the economy.

"These are all imaginary fears, a byproduct of the old command type of economy, the Soviet type of thinking," Manmohan Singh said last year, just before leaving the finance minister's post. "But I think over a period of time, as our people get more self-confidence, this fear will disappear."

Gujral, as foreign minister last year, urged formulation of an economic strategy suited to India's circumstances, just as neighboring China made its way into the global market with its own brand of capitalism. But since becoming prime minister in April, Gujral has not outlined a distinctive Indian strategy.

Finance Minister P. Chidambaram, asked to describe the government's strategy for attracting and deploying foreign investment, responded instead with a lengthy recitation of bureaucratic procedures for reviewing such proposals, giving the impression that parliamentary ambushes have put him on the defensive. "There are enough checks and balances to ensure that foreign investment does not affect India's national interests and is channeled into core areas of the economy," said Chidambaram, a self-styled reformer who graduated from Harvard Business School.

IN AUGUST, when support for legislation to enable private insurers to compete with government companies collapsed before a scheduled vote in Parliament, Gujral angrily withdrew the proposal. Critics had called for an amendment to bar foreign insurers from India — even though its nationalized companies do business in several other countries. Pramod Mahajan, a senior leader of the Hindu nationalist Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), said he opposes the entry of foreign insurers because it would put Indian capital — the premiums collected — "into foreign hands."

But an American analyst said the government could require that a share of premiums be invested in India. "It's a game you could play to your advantage," the analyst said.

India was thought to have reached a political consensus in favor of foreign investment except in consumer goods, but that consensus has apparently broken down since the defeat of the Congress party government of Prime Minister P.V. Narasimha Rao last year. It was Rao, confronted with a shortage of foreign currency to pay for essential imports in 1991, who opened the economy wider to trade and foreign investment. Since then, many American companies have shown interest in selling their products to India's middle class of 250 million.

But disagreements about foreign investment have emerged, among



The wheel thing: many Indians are wary about the influence of investment from abroad PHOTO: DOWNSPEE

formed in the 13-party coalition that partners the last two governments. The coalition's shakiness has also created opportunities for other parties to score political points by appealing to nationalistic sentiments. At times, this approach has been taken by both the BJP, the main opposition party, and the Congress party, which helped vote Gujral to power and, before him, H.D. Deve Gowda.

The voices of anxiety roared during Parliament's recent debate on the state of the nation after a half-century of independence.

Sushma Swaraj, a BJP leader, ac-

cused foreign companies of spoiling the nation's youth with high paying jobs, luring them away from careers in the military, medicine and engineering. "This is bad for the country," she said.

Ashok Mitra, a Communist, opposed "infiltration" of foreign companies into India's banking sector and accused reformers such as Singh and Chidambaram of "yearning to return to the non-freedom we had 50 years ago."

With few exceptions, since 1955 India has prohibited foreign companies from owning an interest in per-

sonals published in the country. "On one hand, they say no to foreign media in print. On the other hand, they allow foreign media to invest in electronic media here," complained Aneek Sarcar, a Calcutta publisher.

V.N. Gadgil, a former information and broadcasting minister, would make the government's media policy more consistent by also banning foreign ownership of TV channels, which he accused of alienating young Indians from their cultural roots. "All they do is watch MTV [and buy] jeans, Coca-Cola, hamburgers," he said.

A Man With Madness in His Method

OPINION

Richard Cohen

THE MAYOR of New York is a touch mad. He is a bundle of petulance and grievances, a workaholic who, like the city itself, seems never to sleep. New Yorkers can go to bed assured that Rudolph Giuliani will not. He is out there, in Gotham, chasing down the bad guys — and they include, of course, his political foes.

One of them is his Democratic opponent, Ruth Messinger. She trails Giuliani in every published poll and, most important, in the conversations of every New Yorker I know. Her voters must live in some other city.

And yet when Messinger stated a fact about the mayor's re-election campaign — that it has had to return an astounding amount of money collected illegally — Giuliani turned on her with such ferocity that traffic stopped all over the city, birds dropped from the sky and peacekeepers were alerted at the nearby United Nations.

For merely raising the financing issue, Giuliani virtually accused Messinger of being anti-Italian — this because she had not marched the entire route of the Columbus Day parade. Not only that, Giuliani added, she had also skipped a Columbus Day mass at St. Patrick's Cathedral, making her by implication (1) anti-Italian, (2) anti-Catholic and, because the late Mr. Columbus had discovered America, (3) anti-American as well.

A day later, Giuliani apologized. Over the summer came another incident. Giuliani refused to give the keynote speech for the opening of the new Arthur Ashe Stadium for tennis. Not only that, he wouldn't go near the place. This was because the previous mayor, David Dinkins, had agreed to give the U.S. Tennis Association \$325,000 every time a plane flew over the prestigious U.S.



The legendary popularity of Rudy Giuliani, the man who cleaned up the capital of crime, should guarantee his re-election on Tuesday as mayor of New York

Open. As a result, the planes are rerouted — over vast neighborhoods of people who, as luck would have it, don't play tennis but do vote.

This was good politics on Giuliani's part but it was not why he did it. He did it because that's who he is.

Now, I use the word "mad" a bit expansively and with the pundit's version of poetic license. Still, there is nary a person in this very tough and totally jaded town who would enjoy a pre-dawn stroll through the mayor's psyche. It is a dark repository, I would guess, of mortal enemies and passionate grievances. These include certain special interests, the criminal class and — at the moment — anyone who questions the unquestionable purity of the mayor and his methods. These people should — at the least — be exiled to "Jolsey."

It is this quality — a Vesuvian temperament and a hot hate for the bad guys — that has served Giuliani better than any single government program, no matter how needed.

Everything about him strongly suggests that he is not in politics for any specific program, or any ideological reason, but because he sees it as the secular equivalent of the priesthood which once so attracted him. He is, as any New Yorker can tell you, engaged in a fight against evil itself.

So far, the mayor has banished the peaky and, sometimes, menacing squeegee men from the streets. He has also taken on the mob, tossing it out of the Fulton Fish Market and even from Little Italy's San Gennaro Festival. As for crime in general, he has loosed the fateful lightning of the NYPD on punks large and small, concentrating on the little stuff before it could become the big stuff.

The results have been virtually miraculous. It's the 1950s and '60s all over again — but with cable TV, yet. Murder has fallen 56 percent since 1990, its peak year, and this year, 1997, has been even better than last. It's true, of course, that crime has fallen

almost everywhere, but nowhere as starkly as in New York City.

No doubt a price has been paid. Here and there a complaint is heard that the police are less civil than they once were, that they are more willing to stop a person based on race or age. But even when a Haitian immigrant was allegedly — and unspeakably — tortured in a Brooklyn police station, no one yelled for Giuliani's head. Much of New York seemed to think it was better to have a few innocent victims of the police than many innocent victims of crime.

It happens that crime began decreasing under Dinkins. Yet it was Giuliani, much more than Dinkins or the hapless Messinger, who personifies what New York in general feels — a rage at the way things used to be and a determination that, almost no matter what, the streets remain safe. Once it seemed a mad notion — which is why, no doubt, New Yorkers sent for Giuliani. He has a quality they seek.

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Sarah Boseley reports on the plight of inexperienced teenagers who carry young lives in their hands

The cradle of trust

A BRITISH au pair, Louise Woodward, is found guilty of killing baby Matthew Eappen. The jury in Cambridge, Massachusetts, spends three days deliberating, but in the end accepts the prosecution case that Woodward shook or battered him to death.

Who is the victim in this dreadful story? Baby Matthew and the parents who have lost their child, certainly. But also Louise Woodward. Whether or not she harmed the baby, it is clear she should not have been given responsibilities for which she — a girl just out of school, not a trained nanny — was obviously unsuited.

Those who think the Eappen tragedy could not happen in Britain are wearing blindfolds. Childcare is a free market. There is almost no regulation. Parents are walking a tightrope when they place their precious child in the hands of a stranger. The only safety net is the word of a previous family that nothing untoward has happened.

This unregulated free-for-all falls parents, falls nannies and au pairs, who sometimes find themselves propelled by commercial agencies into situations they cannot cope with. Most of all, it falls children.

Au pair agencies of the sort that sent Louise to the United States are regulated, they will argue. US statutes demand they make checks. They ask for references. Let us pass on the fact that references are often for babysitting, from friends' families. But do the agencies explain to the girls that what is dressed up as a cultural exchange is in fact a means of exporting cheap labour to the US? In 1994, Senator Patrick Leahy complained it was "sold abroad as a great way to experience American culture and here as a great way to get inexpensive childcare".

The expectations of girls who have recently left school, with a bit of babysitting experience and perhaps younger siblings, are an ocean apart from those of American families. Working parents in the US believe they are employing a cut-price,

full-time nanny who will get up at the crack of dawn and spend a nine-hour day in sole charge of their children five — or even six — days a week. British au pairs, however much they like children, go out for the travel and the fun. There can be a rude awakening. Some girls cannot cope. Sometimes, it leads to tragedy.

Angela Martin, head of the Select Nannies agency, has heard some stories from the girls who return and later sign on with her as nannies. "One girl was told: 'We want you to be here every evening by 8.30 in the house to let us go out seven nights a week.' That was after a 12-hour shift. When the girl complained, they said: 'That's what you are here for. You are here to do what we say.'"

"The girls don't know anything about the background of the families. They all think they are going to be in a movie star's house in California."

"One girl was left stranded. The original family situation was in a nice area with shopping malls and lots to do. They moved to the middle of nowhere, three miles from the end of a dirt road. The girl was told she was not allowed to go to other people's houses or take the baby out. She didn't have a weekend off for nine weeks. She got in touch with another nanny and organised to go to Disneyland on a Sunday. It was one of the girls' birthday. The family sacked her. She was left at the airport with no money. She had to phone home for the fare."

Not all experiences are bad. Some girls have a wonderful time. But concerns led Congress to consider removing the cultural programme status of the au pair scheme. Interestingly, while some reforms were made in 1995, the parents' lobby forced it to scrap its recommendation that only those over 21 could look after children under two and to dilute the need for the au pair to be supervised when they first arrive from a week to three days.

In Britain, too, some of those who offer their services as nannies have no experience or training. Because



Guilty... Louise Woodward hears the jury's verdict. PHOTO: TED FITZGERALD

any woman can have a child, the theory runs, any woman is fundamentally capable of looking after a child. How wrong.

In opposition, the Labour party backed calls for a national nanny register, which would include police checks and regular inspections, and the regulation of agencies. Now it is in government, Labour, which is committed to helping single mothers get out to work and backs women in the workplace, says it is not a priority.

Yet, in the wake of Dunblane and other disasters, there are strict controls over those who work with children in the public and voluntary sectors. Britain is heading towards a paedophile register that will record not only convictions but suspicions of abuse. For parents who employ nannies, au pairs or mother's helps, there is no protection at all. These

are private arrangements, says the state. It is an attitude that harks back to the days of the employee who belonged to you, body and soul.

But the world has turned. The enormous boom in the need for childcare has been due to women going out to work. They are not employing a household of servants but a substitute mother, in charge of and alone with their child in their home. Nobody, most times, is watching.

Anyone can be a nanny. The main marketplace are agencies or The Lady magazine. A small ad attracts dozens of applicants, many of them speaking English poorly, offering their services at cheap rates on the black market. Many have little or no experience. They find jobs because they are willing to work for very little money, without tax or state welfare contributions, for families who are strapped for cash.

Those campaigning against the state of affairs are at the respectable and expensive end of the scale where nannies are qualified and generally well-paid — the International Association of Nannies, the Norland Nursery Training College, the professional Nursery World and Playpen, and Nanny Agency in Epsom, Surrey. They say it is not for the sake of the child but for child protection that those working as nannies should be on a compulsory register, subject to police checks and a code of conduct. Many nannies agree with them.

Louise Davis, principal of the Land Nannies, says: "I sincerely believe the Department of Health has a responsibility for children cared for by nannies." But the Nannybrella, the pressure group of which Norland is part, was disappointed to see no mention of a register in the Early Excellence document published by Labour, the attitude according to be that nannies are for a rich and privileged. That is not always true, says Davis.

Ann Waddington, a barrister working on childcare cases, says it is appalling that there is no central database where parents can at least ensure their nanny has no criminal record. "There is no element of supervision within the home because the mother is out at work, which is what this government is promoting. We are leaving the most vulnerable sections of the community at a completely exposed to harm."

Which brings us back to an au pair in the US. "Agencies should be putting girls like Louise Woodward in circumstances where they are going to be over-stretched. It is a recipe for disaster." Wages are low in the US, but UK agencies pay the salaries to increase their commission, she alleges, which raises the expectations of the parents.

She knows a huge number of nannies who have been put into jobs in which they don't meet the criteria. But if the placement breaks down after six months, it's brilliant for the agency. They can send her on where else, with more commission.

The American au pair scheme effectively offers unqualified girls' families who want cheap labour. "We are a very short step away from the same position here," she says.

told the agency's local representative what was going on. "She had a chat with me and said, 'Right — we're getting you out of there now.' They picked me up and I was out." She had been with the family for four months. "The agency placed another girl with them after that. She was there five months. She pretty much had a nervous breakdown. They made her clean out the dogs and the swimming pool."

Leaving the child was hard for Amanda. "It was such a wrench to leave her after four months because she was my baby. She would be 11 now." Her second experience, with a child of two, was totally different, and very happy. But she knows now that the tiny baby who thought she was Mum was lucky in one way for those four months. The pressure of caring for such a small child might have led another girl over the edge.

"Thank God I was fine with her and loved her, but they should have had somebody with loads of experience with newborn babies."

were not interested in the child at all. The baby screamed when they went near. It got to psychological power games.

"The car of the season was a Jaguar. The man said it was a beautiful car. Then he told me he had a toy in the garage. It was a new black Jag. I said my father had one. He didn't talk to me for a week." She had not understood the couple's perceptions of the British. "They thought everybody in Britain was a backward coalminer's daughter or like Princess Diana." Either way, employing an English nanny was a status symbol.

Amanda was on call the whole time and was not allowed any use of the car. So much for the 45-hour week and alternate free weekends written into the contract. She knew that what was happening was not right but took the blame on herself. "I just thought it was my fault because I didn't know any better. And it was pride, after moving away from home and going to America."

Luckily, she knew another British au pair not far away, who

Letter from Montserrat Lally Brown

Under the volcano

I WISH Beryl were still here. I miss her weekly visit. She used to call round as regular as clockwork on a Friday afternoon and we would talk Montserrat, about the volcano, about her life and about my life. We came from two different cultures, but we were friends.

She would lift the box of mango, papaya and bananas from her head and put it beside me, ready for my selection. Leathery with age, she was tiny but tough, and would carry that box for miles, hawking her fresh fruit and vegetables around her regular customers. Sometimes she would rest, sitting in the shade of the mahogany tree on the main road, appearing to doze: but always alert for a passing customer.

Beryl's home was up in the fertile hills beside the mountain. Until the volcano woke up two years ago.

None of us here could have imagined what the future held in store. Slowly, inexorably, the volcano grew from an inconvenient baby, blowing steam from vents in the hills, to a greedy gargantuan giant devouring the southern part of Montserrat with pyroclastic flows of hot gas and ash.

It wasn't long before we were ordered to move further north to a safer part of the island, abandoning the fertile farming land and the capital of Plymouth to the ashly appetite of the volcano. Beryl moved too. Sharing a small room with two other people, she continued to sell what fruit she could find — some limes, pineapples or grapefruit. Two or three times Beryl was tempted to sneak back to her home in the hills to pick the fruit which had ripened in her absence.

At the end of October the volcano reverted to dome growth again. The volume of the dome was estimated to be a massive 68 million cubic metres of steaming rubble. It is the highest point on Montserrat, at a towering 3,198ft. I thought the crater left by the explosions was vast and hoped that this phase might give us something of a respite. But I have been told that the magma is rising to the surface and replenishing the lost material at a rate equal to the size of a small car per second. It will be no time at all before the crater is filled.

No one can say for certain what will happen next. And no one can say how long the volcano will remain active. We just continue to live in its shadow, and wait.

A Country Diary

Richard Mabey

CHILDREN: The 10th anniversary of the great storm of October 1987 was a reminder of just how resilient native woodlands are. If they're given a little breathing space. Contrary to what the forestry Jeremiahs predicted, the stricken Chilterns woods haven't vanished from the face of the earth, or been swallowed up by what Nan Fairbrother once called "the state of original sin in our landscape" — scrub. Indeed, the only areas that now look less than woods are those where there has been wholesale tidying up and replanting. Everywhere else, the mattress of wrecked timber has served as a rough shelter for spectacular natural regeneration.

In my own small wood, horizontal burnings have continued to drive, sending up vertical shoots from the trunk. Stripped oaks have put out new ruffs. Ash, as usual, has

The volcano continues to dominate our lives. New areas have been designated as exclusion zones and barriers erected. Four times I have moved, but the volcano can still touch me directly. On September 21 there was an abrupt change in the type of volcanic activity. Explosive eruptions began to occur, at a rate of two to three a day. First I would hear the boom of the explosions, a rumbling like thunder. Then I would see the convoluting cauliflower of the eruption column rising into the sky. Mesmerised by its awesome beauty, I would stand and watch as it writhed and rolled upwards, sometimes reaching 30,000ft.

We had 75 of these eruptions before they stopped, just as abruptly as they had started, last month. But some of those columns of ash collapsed back on Montserrat and sent pyroclastic flows spinning down all sides of the volcano, reaching the sea, burning the airport, devastating what was left of Plymouth.

Occasionally, the wind direction conspired with the volcano to send the ash clouds over us in the northern part of Montserrat. The sky overhead would darken as the ominous black cloud rumbled and cracked with thunder and lightning, dumping a variety of volcanic debris over us as it passed. From a raining veil of grey, choking tale to two-inch lumps of pumice hammering the roof, over the past month I've cleaned up after them all.

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been the great opportunist. Thickets of seedlings have eliot up through the tangled wood, and are already 20ft high in many places. On more acid soils, birch is behaving in the same way.

Everywhere less prominent trees — holly, whitebeam, rowan, hazel and field maple — have appeared out of the potent combination of new light and a run of good seed years. Only the beech has done badly, which perhaps reflects how artificially high its population was in the extensive beech plantations of the Chilterns.

But species lists don't give much idea of the sheer vivacity of these aspiring woods, the mix of heights and densities, the way that dense clumps of saplings alternate with butterfly-rich glades, or the newly wild character of the woodland floor itself, with its holes and tummocks and roof-plates like miniature chalk cliffs.



Under threat... the Banaue rice terraces face a new, subterranean peril. PHOTOGRAPH: HELDUR NETO/CN

Worm turns on Philippine rice terraces

Adam Easton in Banaue

ALREADY under threat from poor maintenance and cultural change, the 2,000-year-old Banaue rice terraces in the northern Philippines are facing a bizarre new menace — giant earthworms.

The narrow terraces, which rise like stairs up the hillsides and have been dubbed the "eighth wonder of the world" by the country's tourism department, are slowly being eroded by the worms, which can grow up to 45cm long.

It is thought the worms arrived when high-yielding rice strains were imported after

the second world war. Christopher Pagadut, of the Rice Terraces Commission, has studied the impact of the worms. "They bore deep within the terrace stones, which produces an effect like a hole in a dike. When the rains come in the rainy season they wash away the soil, leading to the collapse of the wall and the terrace," he says.

Mr Pagadut is looking at methods to control the worms that will not damage the fragile terraces. Planting sunflowers had only a limited effect, and treating the soil with a solution of soap powder and salt and using pesticides caused environmental damage.

The most effective method has been a pest control system used by the Ifugao tribe, who, it is believed, first began building the terraces between 200BC and 100AD. They mixed forest vines with water and treated the soil with the concoction during planting. But vines from the rainforest are already depleted.

The terraces face other threats. Young Ifugaos are deserting the uplands for the cities and there is a shortage of water for irrigation.

To halt the decline, the Philippine tourism minister, Mina Gabor, is considering charging tourists who visit the site.

Notes & Queries Joseph Harker

WHY does autumn have a separate American name, while the other three seasons don't?

THE word autumn has a medieval French, originally Latin, root, whereas the words for the other seasons are of Germanic origin. In Britain, the French-speaking, fashionable classes managed to displace the original expression "leaf fall" from the language, whereas the more down-to-earth Pilgrim Fathers retained it when they set off for the New World. — Terence Hollingsworth, Blagnac, France

HOW do I get rid of the pigeons that infest the balcony of my flat?

ATTACH one or more plastic children's pinwheels to your balcony railing. This not only keeps birds away, but brightens your balcony at the same time. — Terry Murray, Toronto, Ontario, Canada

DEVELOP a taste for squash. — William O Moser, Springfield, Vermont, USA

HAS bird song changed over the ages?

LAST YEAR, every morning and evening, a blackbird sang outside our window. Without fail, it incorporated the telephone ringing tone into its song. — Geoff Dobson, Ashburton, New Zealand

sheds or something. The angle of the line disrupts the birds' navigation and, once encountered, causes them to change direction. — Malcolm Newell, Adelaide, South Australia

NOTHING non-lethal is likely to be effective in the long run. Nevertheless, some amusement is still possible. My wife and I have found that a good quality, high-powered water pistol — when used with patience, vigilance and stealth — is very effective. A direct hit appears to confuse them totally. — William Krag, Buenos Aires, Argentina

BUY a cat and let him go on the balcony. At first his food costs will be quite low, but they will rise as the pigeons learn. — Kevin Prince, Trieste, Italy

DEVELOP a taste for squash. — William O Moser, Springfield, Vermont, USA

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I CAN'T remember having a "square meal". Can someone explain this expression?

A "SQUARE MEAL" is a good meal, "fair and square". Ancient Greek had a similar idiom. People called a good man *tetragonos*, which meant "four cornered" or "square". — Janet Fairweather, Ely, Cambridgeshire

Any answers?

I HAVE been told that a male child will always grow up to be taller than his mother. Is this true? — Mike Hardcastle, Leicester

SOME years ago, Edward de Bono was brought in to advise the Venezuelan government on how to improve its education system through "lateral thinking" in the classroom. Was this experiment successful? — Anthony Parker, Leamington Spa

Answers should be e-mailed to weekly@guardian.co.uk, faxed to 0171-44171-242-0985, or posted to The Guardian Weekly, 75 Farringdon Road, London EC1M 3HQ. The Notes & Queries website is at <http://hq.guardian.co.uk/>

British nanny trapped in the home from hell

AMANDA HARRISON was 18 and had just left school. She wanted a year out — a year of fun, travel and excitement far from home, writes Sarah Boseley. America beckoned and, like many girls in the gap year, she signed up to be an au pair.

In a strange parallel with Louise Woodward, the couple she was sent to were in the medical profession. The husband was a doctor and the wife an anaesthetist. They lived in Atlanta, Georgia, in a huge house with a swimming pool. "It was quite awesome," said Amanda.

She had been told by the agency to expect a new-born baby but there were some surprises in store. It was a surrogate baby, delivered to the house a week after Amanda arrived. Not only was Amanda surprised. So were all the couple's friends. Amanda was initially introduced to their circle as the daughter of a British friend. And then... guess what? Suddenly they had a baby and she was the nanny.

The couple behaved as if they had a new toy, said Amanda. "For the first few weeks, they were buying expensive outfits. They would wheel me and the baby out to show us off."

But it was she, the young



Amanda... victim of psychological power games

British student with no childcare qualifications and with experience limited to babysitting and voluntary work in a primary school, who was left literally holding the baby. "I was looking after her 24 hours a day. She was sleeping in my bed for about the first two months. I had total responsibility. I was the one getting up in the night."

What was the child to think? "The poor baby," said Amanda. "It was like I was her mother."

When the two of them were brought in to be shown off to friends and the adoptive mother would pick up the child, "she would crane her neck around trying to watch me". The baby would cry. "Your natural instinct is to pick her up." But when Amanda did, and the baby quickly quietened, the couple did not like it. Relations became strained. "They

weren't interested in the child at all. The baby screamed when they went near. It got to psychological power games."

The car of the season was a Jaguar. The man said it was a beautiful car. Then he told me he had a toy in the garage. It was a new black Jag. I said my father had one. He didn't talk to me for a week."

She had not understood the couple's perceptions of the British. "They thought everybody in Britain was a backward coalminer's daughter or like Princess Diana." Either way, employing an English nanny was a status symbol.

Amanda was on call the whole time and was not allowed any use of the car. So much for the 45-hour week and alternate free weekends written into the contract. She knew that what was happening was not right but took the blame on herself. "I just thought it was my fault because I didn't know any better. And it was pride, after moving away from home and going to America."

Luckily, she knew another British au pair not far away, who

Japanese action painting

THEATRE
Michael Billington

BASED on a text by the avant-garde writer Shuji Terayama, and blending drama, music and spectacle, the lavishly operatic Shintoku-Maru at London's Barbican Theatre proves that Yukio Ninagawa, famed in the West for his *Macbeth* and *Medea*, is one of the great image-makers of modern theatre.

The show starts with the recorded voice of Alan Rickman giving us a somewhat convoluted plot synopsis. But when the action starts, all becomes clear: this is really a Japanese *Phedre* — with odd echoes of *Hamlet* and *Oedipus* — with a happy ending.

The Beethovened hero, Shintoku-Maru, is haunted by the memory of his late mother. But when his father buys a new wife in the market-place, S-M is compulsively drawn to his step-mother, and, after a good many ups and downs including a trip to the underworld, they finally consummate their love.

Not speaking Japanese, I cannot judge the literary merits of the piece, but Ninagawa once again proves himself a master of choric spectacle. The show's opening and closing image, for instance, offers a restless, turbulent kaleidoscope of a seething Japanese thoroughfare filled with masked welders, cyclists, rickshaw-drivers, paraded brides, traders bearing on backs and shoulders ancient TV sets, and even what looked like a portable house. Urban Japan's strange mixture of past and present is caught in a dream-like image.

Ninagawa studied the visual arts and he often treats the stage like a giant canvas. When the hero's father goes to choose a bride from a group of run-down travelling players, the horror of it is conveyed by the sight of grotesquely suppliant figures reaching out from behind a portable cage as if part of a Wedekind-like human zoo. And the underworld, filled with mothers seeking their children, is evoked through floating candlelit barges and a melancholic procession of giant-stemmed flowers.

Terayama, who died in 1983 and was a controversially provocative figure, meant us to be shocked by the story; and there is one particularly chilling moment when the hero, disguised as his stepmother, starts to molest and abuse her young son.

But the overwhelming impression is of the haunting strangeness of forbidden love and of the inclusiveness of Japanese theatre. In Britain, we divide theatre into separate compartments; in Japan, an avant-garde story with classical echoes easily blends with soft rock, choreographed movement and reborn-ravishing spectacle.

Tatsuya Fujiwara as the hero is all confused boyishness. Kayoko Shiratschi as his step-mother exudes guilt-ridden passion, and Sumio Yoshii's lighting contributes much by its subtle chiaroscuro. But Ninagawa is the master synthesiser who brings it all together, and proves that he has the capacity to paint with people.



In time-honoured fashion, rows are brewing about this year's Turner Prize and its all-female shortlist. But, says **Adrian Searle**, for once the art is more important

May the best woman win

THERE'S usually an argument when the Turner Prize exhibition opens, and this year will be no exception. At 1996's prize-giving ceremony for the all-male shortlist, compere Joan Bakewell rattled her space-age jewellery and promised girl power in 1997; yet instead of the rude girls and obvious contenders Sarah Lucas and Tracey Emin, this year's artists are Christine Borland, Cornelia Parker, Gillian Wearing and Angela Bulloch.

The controversy over the Turner Prize this time, however, is that there is no real controversy. An all-women shortlist? Who but a nincompoop could complain? No painting? Last month saw the previously slack Jerwood painting prize awarded to 1996 Turner nominee Gary Hume. Last week, the John Moores Painting exhibition opened in Liverpool. The Turner and the Moores hand out £20,000 to the winners, while the Jerwood offers £30,000. The difference is that the Turner beano gets the publicity, including the swanky televised award dinner on December 2. Here we go again.

Whether or not the contenders on show at the London's Tate Gallery are the best artists in Britain is another story. Best for what, we might ask ourselves. Most entertaining? Most telly-friendly? Most thought-provoking? Art that isn't thought-provoking isn't worth thinking about, much less looking at.

The centrepiece of Parker's Turner installation is a companion-piece to her 1991 installation *Cold Dark Matter* (An Exploded View), an exploded garden shed now in the Tate's collection. Mass (Colder, Darker Matter) comprises the charred timbers of a wooden church destroyed by lightning in Texas.

Like much of her work, Mass (the double-edged title is one of its better elements) depends on meanings that have as much to do with labelling and context as with any intrinsic value in the materials. The work is a fake frozen moment, a drawing in space, an explosion of charred wooden beams and charcoal meteorites dangling from

strings. As much as anything else, it is a 3-D drawing.

Her second display at the Tate features a pair of corroded commemorative silver-plated wedding goblets, Twenty Years Of Tarnish, which would come in handy at a marriage guidance session as a visual aid. There are also earplugs moulded from silt collected in the Whispering Gallery of St Paul's Cathedral and a Georgian silver spoon drawn out into a wire as long as the Niagara Falls are high. This last is called *Measuring Niagara With A Teaspoon*. All this is deft, poetic, and at its best resonant and poignant. Parker's work is a reliquary of unconsidered, everyday objects transformed into powerful, sometimes playful symbols. Many of her inadvertent souvenirs and ephemeral relics have just the kind of symbolism beloved by poets and novelists.

I had my doubts about the inclusion of both Parker and Christine Borland. Their works involve an almost forensic approach to objects, and both depend on ideas of context, playing with the conventions of museum display and taxonomy. Furthermore both are artists whose sensibilities touch on life's mutability and its miseries, commemorating losses and falsifications. Both, too, are highly dependent on labelling, inscriptions, and the histories of the items they work with. Bor-

land shows three works at the Tate: a group of life-size portrait busts on plinths; two little leather dolls; and an installation about Charles Byrne, the 7ft 10in tall "Irish Giant" who died in 1783, and Caroline Cruchani, the 22in "Sicilian Dwarf" who died at the age of nine in 1824. The skeletons of both reside in the Hunterian Museum at the Royal College of Surgeons.

HERE their bodies exist as traces: Borland had replicas of their skeletons made, and used them as stencils, laying the fabricated bones out on sheets of glass that were then dusted with fine powder. The bones were then taken away, leaving a powdery silhouette of the absent forms. The sheets of glass are presented as shelves, protruding from the Tate's walls. Carefully angled lighting casts the images through the glass and on to the walls themselves. The image of the little girl hovers a couple of feet above the floor, while O'Brien's supine skeleton hangs way above our heads.

Both people were ill-used in both life and death. O'Brien's bones were stolen, while Cruchani's body was sold to anatomists without the girl's parents being told. The story's the thing, but Borland's installation doesn't quite work, in terms of the relationship between dramatic light-

ing, the cast shadows of the skeletal images and the construction of the shelves themselves.

Borland's second major work is altogether better. In a display cabinet in the Münster Academy of Anatomy, Borland discovered a series of sculpted busts that depict a Borneo tribesman, a black South African, a child with a tragic deformity, two sturdy Nordic types, a student's botched exercise in sculpted portraiture, and a low-browed, Neanderthal ape-man. All records relating to these busts were lost in the second world war, but it is likely that they were used as demonstration models in the institute's study of eugenics and "racial hygiene".

BORLAND has had these anonymous heads remade with a computer-assisted laser-imaging machine. The solid translucent replicas have a nascent, luminescent quality. It is a powerful work, evoking bad histories, lost identities, stories untold.

Gillian Wearing's major video installation, *Sixty Minutes*, is hilarious and deceptively simple. Wearing apparently persuaded 26 policemen and women to pose for a video group portrait. There they sit and stand: helmeted hobbies, fair cops and beefy senior officers. The cops were persuaded to hold the pose not for a minute or two, but for an hour. There they stand and sit, trying to maintain their composure but with evident, growing discomfort. They twitch. They shuffle. They get crank. They gurn and stretch. Waves of discomfort overtake them one by one. Slowly, their dignity is eroded, their posturously magnified, their discipline breached. At the last moment the most disciplined of all snaps in a yelp of relief. His shout can be heard all round the galleries.

Sixty Minutes is incredibly funny. If it has a stronger purpose, it involves our perceptions of authority, and of the bodies beneath the serge. Angela Bulloch is the surprise choice for the Turner. Giant biomorphic beanbags form a soft sculpture in the centre of the room. Various swatches of dweebly ambient sound are activated by a light sensor as you enter, and by a couple of round platforms you can stand on. The hum of a theremin adds to the soundscape. A big yellow light comes on, and goes off again, and a machine does a sort of noisy cartoon drawing on a panel fixed to the wall.

What is Bulloch's work about? Chilling out, feeling good about technology, collapsing at the end of a rigorous afternoon of art-watching? The atmosphere is enveloping in a play-school for adults kind of way, and the whole thing is given a bit of a twist by a slightly unpleasant wall-painting that contains a tear from Bulloch's laboured Rules series. The words, from an official aviation document, are all about aeroplane emergency doors and seating arrangements.

This year's competition makes for an interesting, if slightly downbeat show. If it lacks pizzazz, that's all to the good — the most interesting art around "doesn't always grab the tabloid pages." If anything, the Turner Prize is a corrective to the Royal Academy's *Sensation*: it isn't sensational at all. Above all, the art is more interesting than the prize itself, which is just as it should be.

The Turner Prize exhibition is at the Tate Gallery, London, until January 15.



Police, stationary... Gillian Wearing's hilarious video of cops trying not to move, *Sixty Minutes*. PHOTOGRAPH: TATE GALLERY

The clowned heads of Europe

TELEVISION
Nancy Banks-Smith

THERE was a positive entertainment value about pre-war royals, and some, like Alexander of Serbia, who was thrown out of a window, on their heads. None seemed to have their feet on the ground.

The Balkans were the best. Elisabeth of Romania would stand on the terrace of her house by the sea, shouting blessings at passing ships. The sheer improbability of the dynasty was celebrated by Dorothy Parker. "Oh, life is a glorious cycle of song/A melody of extemporaneous/And love is a thing that can never go wrong/And I am Marie of Romania!"

Albania was the last of the Balkan states to hanker after its unfulfilling source of fun. The

crown was hawked around. Aubrey Herbert, a Conservative MP, turned it down twice on the grounds that the position was unsalaried, thus denying us the charm of an Aubrey of Albania.

An Albanian tribal chieftain declared himself Zog I and entertainingly invented his own salute. Mussolini, who also invented his own salute, invaded and Zog left with his wife, their day-old son and the portable part of the treasury. They spent the war in the Ritz and paid their bill with gold bars.

Zog suggests a visitor from the planet Tharg, an impression his son tends to confirm. In *Monday Times* (BBC2), we saw the day-old baby grown to 6ft 10in and campaigning to be king in a Monarchy v Republic referendum.

The Modern Times strand was understandably tempted by *The Return Of Zog*. Nick Broomfield

has a lot to answer for. He invented, probably by happy accident, a TV documentary that doesn't need the subject's co-operation. You couldn't snub Broomfield. He affably filmed the snub. This worked excellently with Eugene Terreblanche, who was exceptionally susceptible to teasing.

Broomfield's success, though variable, encouraged producers like Peter Dale to film the dog-bodies if all else fails.

Zog II displayed the customary coyness, so we passed the time with a Ruritanian cast of brigands. The sequence of non-events was characteristic of the genre. "We're feeling a bit left out... We were no clearer what the king's plans were... Everywhere he went, he studiously ignored us."

On the eve of the referendum, Zog granted a brief audience. It was not illuminating. "I am

going to bring justice, peace and law and order."

"How?"

"That's for me to know." He was, you noticed, a relentless chain-smoker.

Trana crackled with gunfire like a perpetual *Bonfire Night*. Zog lost the referendum, claimed the ballot was rigged and emerged in battledress with a Kalashnikov. The gunfire redoubled. Outside the Electoral Commission, a man was killed.

It was chaotic, and in this sense it gave you a very fair idea of Albania.

The Real Holiday Show (Channel 4) produced Martin and Jason, two friends from Bracknell in Berkshire, who moshed with the beautiful inevitability of the born double-act. Martin is darkly good-looking and obsessed. Jason is cheerful and overweight. Their backchat is clever and funny. They could easily repeat this natural act on TV.

This time they happened to be

hunting tarantulas in Borneo. Martin already has 200 tarantulas in his flat. You can't have too many tarantulas.

Jason said: "Martin is seen as the Intrepid Explorer. I am the Mr Bean of this operation." He doesn't like insects at all.

When his hammock wasn't collapsing, Jason dreamed of Disneyland. "It has all the sort of things I like. Air-conditioning, food, lots of food, lots of junk food."

Sometimes allience fell with a bit of a bump. "It's that hot you don't talk to one another because you know that whatever you say is going to wind up that person enough to want to beat you to death."

A tarantula looked out of its hole. There's one! Where? V...c...y gently. Gut it! Oh, still!

Personally, I feel for the spider. One moment you're in Borneo, the next you're in Bracknell. You have to sympathise.

Crimes of passion

OPERA
Andrew Clements

JANACEK's final opera was last seen in London more than 10 years ago, and that production, David Pountney's for Welsh National Opera, was a searing, unforgettable experience. ENO's version at the London Coliseum isn't quite in that class dramatically, but it is always tense and involving, and more than good enough to confirm From the House of the Dead as one of the 20th century's operatic masterpieces.

It is almost an opera without a plot. Janacek's libretto, taken from Dostoevsky, is a portrait of inmates at a Russian gulag of deprivation, can only assert their individuality by recounting the tragic stories of their crimes. Tim Albery skilfully moves the shambling mass of prisoners about Stewart Laing's functionally institutional set, but it is the four autobiographical tales that provide the opera's pivotal moments and allow Janacek's score to seize upon a few precious moments of lyricism.

These cameos are carefully observed and vividly delivered by Robert Brubaker, John Daszak, John Graham-Hall and Andrew Shore, while the soprano Gail Pearson plays a boy whose story is never told in the opera yet who seems the most tragic character of all. The music that lifts these desperate characters, that gives them humanity if not hope, is Janacek's most extraordinary score. Paul Daniel conducts it at white-hot, and encourages both his orchestra and the men of the chorus to believe in it passionately too.

House Of The Dead is ingeniously prefaced by Mark-Anthony Turnage's *Twice Through the Heart*. Simply and effectively staged by Petti Powell, the dramatic scene becomes a tight monodrama. The female protagonist, a woman imprisoned for killing her violently abusive husband, is sung by Susan Bickley with such directness and command of Turnage's achingly expressive melodies that the work takes on an extra dimension. It is a troubling and thought-provoking evening.



Girl 'n the hood... Kim Basinger in *LA Confidential*

to figure this thing out," Exley tells White, "we need to work together."

Hanson's record includes *The Hard That Rocked The Cradle* and *The River Wild*, but nothing in it suggests the mastery with which he controls the movement of this ensemble piece — in particular Exley's whirlwind interrogation of three murder suspects. The decision to take a chance on casting an Australian (Pearce) and a New Zealander (Cromwell) as the young detectives is triumphantly justified by a pair of nerve-rattling performances which deserve to stand in a parade of Oscar nominations alongside Spacey's suave amoralist and

Cromwell's tweedy Dud Smith, the scarier Irish cop since Sterling Hayden in *The Godfather*. Not forgetting Basinger, who floods Lynn Bracken's soul with a bruised virtue rewarded in a final sequence that joyously plays fast and loose with the audience's expectations.

LA Confidential gets just about everything right. The light, the architecture, the slang, the music. A racist ("Schwarz hoppers") that lives on. A wonderful Lana Turner joke. A sense, above all, of damaged people arriving to make new lives and getting seduced by the scent of night-blooming jasmine, the perfume of corruption.

CINEMA

Richard Williams

PERHAPS every devotee of Hollywood film noir who sees *LA Confidential*, Curtis Hanson's adaptation of James Ellroy's vast, sprawling novel of death and desire in Lotus Land, will identify a moment which provides the signal that, against great odds, the director's ambition has been matched by his achievement.

My own comes early on, when the action moves out of Los Angeles Police Department headquarters and into the suburbs of what was, in 1950, still a comparatively small city. We're looking down an unkempt road bordered by frame houses. It's a view lifted directly from William S. Burroughs's remarkable 1956 photograph of the doomed saxophonist Art Pepper, just out of the slammer and posing for a comeback publicity shot while sweating out — or so he said, several decades later — the aftermath of a heroin jag. Pure Ellroy.

There is much, much more of this kind of thing, such as the Beverly Hills garage that opens to reveal an XK120 Jaguar just like the one with which Jean Simmons seduced a lustful Robert Mitchum behind a lustful double-doors in Preminger's *Angel Face* in 1952. And, naturally, there is a danger that all of it could be nothing more than a decorative displacement of creative energies which would have been better directed at the narrative. It isn't. It shows how serious Hanson was, how determined to make this movie the one that translated Ellroy to the screen with the picture intact.

Many people, not least Ellroy, believe the book to be unfilmable. Too big, too dirty, too chaotic. Too much like the LA freeway system, in fact. Miss the off-ramp while you're trying to follow the plot, and you'll end up an hour later with nothing to look at but cactus. Hanson and screenwriter, Brian Koppelman, must have cut away a minimum 80 per cent of the book's undergrowth, without reducing the essential

lushness of character, plot or ambience.

At heart this is a buddy movie, although the buddies don't know it until the last 20 minutes. Ed Exley and Bud White are two young detectives caught up in the consequences of a Christmas party at the police station, during which a bunch of drink-fuelled cops stomp on the heads of half a dozen Mexicans suspects. A partial cover-up, followed by the slaying of one of the accused cops in a restaurant bloodbath, leads the pair into a three-dimensional web of evil.

To begin with, they travel independently. White (Russell Crowe) is a little bullet of a man, working off the memory of watching his mother die at his father's hands, focusing his mad-dog rage into freelance retribution against wife-beaters. Exley (Guy Pearce), the ambitious son of a distinguished cop, isn't afraid to forfeit the friendship of his colleagues in exchange for the clean hands rep that will take him where he wants to be.

REFEREEING their rivalry is Dudley Smith (James Cromwell), the captain of detectives, who has their number. "You have the eye for human weakness," Smith tells the smooth Exley, "but not the stomach." To White, he says: "Don't start trying to do the right thing. You haven't had the practice."

Slightly to one side stands another detective, Jack Vincennes (Kevin Spacey), "Hollywood Jack" moonlighting as adviser to a TV cop series, while trading details of forthcoming dope raids on the pads of movie stars and jazz musicians for front-page coverage in *Hush-Hush*, a scandal rag edited by Sid Hudgens (Danny DeVito).

While Exley makes his stand for probity, White dives into the underworld, fists flailing. Their first serious clash comes over the person of Lynn Bracken (Kim Basinger), a Veronica Lake lookalike from a stable of hookers specialising in providing sex with living replicas of Hollywood stars. An hour later, the penny has dropped. "If we're going

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Slinking to the top

Ian Gilmour

Major: A Political Life
by Anthony Seldon
Widenfeld 666pp £25

JOHN MAJOR'S greatest mistake was not his handling of Black Wednesday in 1992 but his decision to be a candidate for the Conservative leadership in 1990. Major admitted at the time and later that, when he became prime minister, he had insufficient knowledge or experience of politics, government or issues.

Yet his decision to stand against Michael Heseltine and Douglas Hurd, both of whom were manifestly better qualified for the job, was not the result of a sudden whim. As one of his entourage wrote after he had won, Major was "a very nice man" but he was also "ruthless". Highly ambitious and better at getting jobs than doing them, he had meticulously cultivated the parliamentary party.

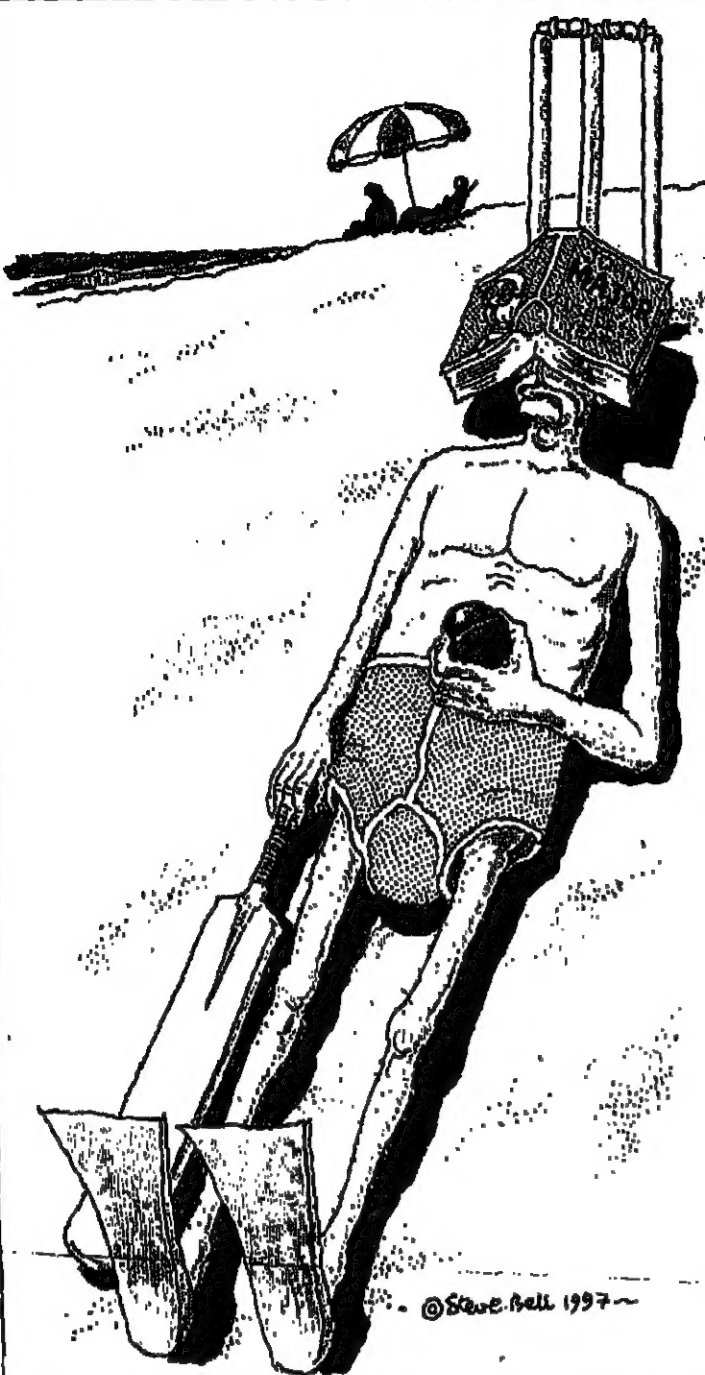
What Anthony Seldon calls Major's "clever and deliberate avoidance of being labelled as on one wing of the party or the other" enabled him "to sink past Heseltine and Hurd" and, with the strong support of Margaret Thatcher, to gain No 10 Downing Street. Had he remained in No 11, he would have grown in stature as a competent Chancellor with a good chance of winning the leadership the next time round; and his standing would have been higher than it is today.

The second blow Major inadvertently dealt his reputation was, heavily against the odds, to win the 1992 general election. Bequeathed a wretched legacy, he had reunited his party, gained the respect of international leaders and was popular at home. Up to the election, nothing had gone badly wrong and, had he lost, he would not have been blamed for the defeat. The general verdict would have been that he was a fully adequate and all-too-short-lived prime minister.

Black Wednesday cost John Major his — and his party's — reputation for competence. From then on he and his government were doomed. Evidently Major soon realised that he and Mrs Thatcher had taken sterling into the Exchange Rate Mechanism at far too high a rate, for Seldon reveals that in 1991 he requested the preparation of a secret plan to devalue sterling within the ERM. Yet when in the autumn of 1992 such a devaluation was clearly imperative, Major and his Chancellor, Norman Lamont, did nothing to achieve one in conjunction with other countries.

Instead, Major made a bombastic speech condemning devaluation, and at a meeting of European finance ministers at Bath, Lamont, with Major's concurrence, tried to bully Helmut Schlesinger, the president of the Bundesbank, into reducing German interest rates. The idea of Lamont being able to browbeat Schlesinger is risible enough, but Schlesinger had no power to make such a decision on his own even if he had wanted to.

Then, after blundering into, and through, Black Wednesday, Major and Lamont made matters worse by not admitting responsibility or apologising for the disaster. The very least that was required was the shift-



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ing of Lamont, if not out of the government, into another department. Yet, although Seldon tells us that Major contemplated resignation, both men remained in situ.

All this is admirably recounted in Major: A Political Life. Anthony Seldon is one of the most skilful of the historians of contemporary Britain; his study of the 1951-55 Churchill government is a classic of the genre. But Churchill's Indian summer is a very different book from this one. It is written schematically, whereas this one is "one damn thing after another" and sometimes seems more like a chronicle than a history.

Seldon reminds us that one of the three towns in John Major's Huntingdon constituency is St Neots. The 19th century historian J A Froude ended his biography of the saint of that name with these words: "This is all — and indeed rather more than all — that is known of the life of the great saint, St Neot." When they reach the end of Seldon's 856 pages, many readers may feel that they know rather more than all that needs to be known of the political life of John Major.

Yet this is a valuable book, which will be especially useful for students. Seldon has been an indefatigable interviewer, and the necessary facts are there. He is particularly good on Major's early life, demonstrating what an extraordinary achievement it was for the future prime minister to rise to the top from such disadvantaged beginnings.

Seldon's judgments, too, are usually sound, if sometimes too tentative. As he says, his book is not uncritical; he says also that it is not

"a pro-John Major book", though in fact it is, and is none the worse for that. Major has been so much attacked that it was time that a knowledgeable and balanced case was made for him. Seldon rightly thinks Major to be "an honourable man who retained his dignity" to the end and whose "courage was exceptional".

A YEAR or so before the election, Tony Blair said that John Major was not the problem for the Conservative party; the problem for John Major was the problem for John Major. Certainly Major was sorely tried by his parliamentary following. The Conservative right were so imbued with ideological fervour that they could not be brought to recognise that, as Matthew Parris put it, "they disgust the British electorate". In addition, he was handicapped by — for a Conservative prime minister — an unprecedentedly hostile press.

Yet some of his difficulties were of his own making. The fractiousness of the parliamentary party was partly due to his hardly ever giving them the scent of future success. He seldom raised his game; he always seemed to be playing for a draw. Though he never satisfied the hardest Thatcherites, he continued down the Thatcherite road, and though he never satisfied the so-called Eurosceptics, he went on drifting in their direction.

Only towards the end did he start making "one-nation" noises which, according to Seldon, expressed his true sentiments. But by then it was much too late, and his government had made far too many blunders.

I can imagine Seldon's delight in finding such a manuscript — but I do not believe in it. The cod medievalism is beautifully done and

Merchant's tale

Robert Irwin

The City of Light
by Jacob d'Ancona
translated and edited
by David Selbourne
Little Brown 392pp £22.50

I CAN imagine David Selbourne's delight when, a few years ago, an acquaintance visited his house in Urbino and placed in his hands a medieval manuscript whose very existence had hitherto been unsuspected. This manuscript had no title — The City of Light is a title imposed on it by Selbourne.

The manuscript purported to be the narrative of a Jewish merchant who in 1270-1 travelled from the Italian port of Ancona to the Chinese port of Zaitun, "the City of Light". Jacob's journey to China anticipated by a few years that of Marco Polo, and his account of how he reached Zaitun and what he saw when he got there seems to provide startling new information on matters of considerable importance. If one had not read The City of Light, one would not have guessed that Anconitan trade in the 13th century was as vigorous as Jacob describes it, nor would one have suspected the size and commercial importance of the Jewish communities in the ports of Iran, India and China. Above all, The City of Light provides unexpected testimony about social and moral decline in the cities of 13th century Sung China.

But that is only part of it, for The City of Light is no throwaway record of ports visited and exotic commodities exchanged. Jacob is a reflective traveller who, as he travels, meditates longly on the wonders of God's creation and on man's duties to God. The book celebrates Jewish religious and commercial achievements. Moreover, once Jacob arrived in China, he apparently took part in an extended series of debates with Chinese merchants and thinkers on civic duty and other matters. Jacob and his occasional intellectual ally, a former Chinese official whom Jacob called "the noble Pitaco", argue in favour of the duties of the individual to society and vice versa. They denounce the decline in religious values, the decay in respect for the old, the cult of youth, moral relativism, permissiveness in education, the unfettered free-market, homosexuals, violence in entertainment, and the shunning off of the blame for criminal acts on to society as a whole.

Selbourne himself writes on political philosophy from a right-wing point of view (though he has described his position as "civic socialism"). He must have found Jacob's thoughts on religion and civic responsibility thoroughly congenial. The English text has been handsomely produced and illustrated, and it comes equipped with a scholarly glossary and notes. In his introduction, Selbourne informs us that, because of problems concerning the provenance and ownership of the manuscript, the original text cannot be made available for the inspection of scholars.

I can imagine Selbourne's delight in finding such a manuscript — but I do not believe in it. The cod medievalism is beautifully done and

quite hard to fault. Even in these particular problems, for example, in the course of their overland journey from the Mediterranean to the Gulf, Jacob and his companions travel on from Damascus across the Syrian desert and reach the Euphrates at a point more or less parallel with Baghdad, and they do this without encountering any real obstacles. I find this incredible. This was a time when the Mongol hordes, with the Mongol hordes, who ruled over Iran and Iraq, and consequently the land frontier between Syria and Iraq was closed to trade. Moreover, even in peacetime the route chosen by Jacob's party is an improbable one. Most caravans chose a more northerly route and crossed over from Aleppo to northern Iraq via Palmyra.

There are larger and more notorious problems with The City of Light. It is most improbable that Chinese mandarins or scholars would have condescended to debate with a visiting European trader an equal. It is hard to understand how Jacob could have participated so effectively in these debates while he was working through an interpreter. It is equally improbable that their debates could have had any effect on the way the city was actually run. Above all, it is obvious that the terms of the debates are flagrant anachronisms.

If the book is not a historical source, does it work as a novel? I think not, partly because there are too few surprises in its plotting, but mostly because Jacob's character does not develop as his story unfolds. He starts out from Ancona as a wise man and he comes back a wiser man. In China he wins every debate he engages in. His opponents come angry and red-faced and they realise their inability to deal with Jacob's pious reasonableness. They try to shout him down. I keep hoping that just once Jacob would lose the argument on some basic medieval Chinese issue, like the morality of video nasties or the acceptability of lotteries for charitable purposes.

The City of Light, no novel, is really a treatise on politics and philosophy and, as such, it has affinities with such exotic fables as Sir Thomas More's Utopia and Montesquieu's Lettres Persanes. However, the publication of The City of Light brightened up my week, for it is a good book, and I think it appears to have gone into this one. Selbourne himself writes on political philosophy from a right-wing point of view (though he has described his position as "civic socialism"). He must have found Jacob's thoughts on religion and civic responsibility thoroughly congenial. The English text has been handsomely produced and illustrated, and it comes equipped with a scholarly glossary and notes. In his introduction, Selbourne informs us that, because of problems concerning the provenance and ownership of the manuscript, the original text cannot be made available for the inspection of scholars.

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GUARDIAN WEEKLY
November 9 1997

Thrillers

Chris Petit

Death Will Have Your Eyes, by James Sallis (No Exit Press, £10)

A BREATHTAKING dismantling of the usual elements of a mystery story, with sleeping agents re-created for an endgame that takes place across the blacktops and motels of America. It avoids obvious signposts and unfolds more like a jargon, existential road movie in search of the big what! In a world of poetic yearning, lonely detour and sporadic violence, peopled by seemingly random encounters — except there is no such thing in Sallis's book — this moves to a beat of its own. Sallis is a writer of real authority, making absolute what in less capable hands would be effete. His bleak landscape inhabited as much by Neruda and Pavese as by dead letter drops.

The Laper Colony, by Ron McKay (Gollancz, £9.99)

TOUGH but haunted Downe discovers, with his hated father's aid, that his real name is Bone, and after saving off his dead Da's finger, heads from New York to Glasgow to sort out the past, arriving with bags of hard-boiled attitude. Gentrification and the Scottish Tourist Board notwithstanding, McKay's psycho-city is the same old bit of violent retribution of biblical density, and spelt out in the toughest of vernaculars. With nods to Get Out — vigilante force, drugs, gun, collusion — and a climax say enough to make Edgar Allan Poe up.

Repetition, by David Ambrose (Macmillan, £16.99)

FOR THE successful blending of surface complexity and narrative simplicity see The X-Files, an aggressive weekly dose of bunk and believably the muttered, come-sorry-and-red-faced and they realise their inability to deal with Jacob's pious reasonableness. They try to shout him down. I keep hoping that just once Jacob would lose the argument on some basic medieval Chinese issue, like the morality of video nasties or the acceptability of lotteries for charitable purposes.

The Monkey's Flat, by William Press (No Exit Press, £9.99)

RETIREDCOP Eddie Nickles gets himself a cold war hangover, investigating a double murder which turns out to be a late move between East and West, behind which that old familiar, the US, may so secret it doesn't exist. When to start, but Press turns to investigate into lively enough follow-ups.

Time, by Peter Mews (Allen Lane, £8.99)

IT AND MISS neo-existentialism and a moody brood as a cat sits at the seaside and tries to remember (car crash, head injuries) what exactly went on between him and his wife in England (dead love, divorce). Dreamlike and sufficiently alien to disqualify as a thriller. Time is included here because it is often this column can drum up just Robbe-Grillet for reference. Influence dominates a book too much by literary influences.

Monsieur Everything

David Coward

Victor Hugo
by Graham Robb
Picador 682pp £20

VICTOR HUGO, not content to be a genius, accustomed his contemporaries and posterity to think of him as a volcano spewing hot truths, a beacon radiating dazzling light. When he died in 1885, France's greatest everything — poet, playwright, novelist, philosopher, rebel, humanitarian, lover — was seen off by 2 million people and the news made page one of newspapers across the globe.

But some dared to carp. Heine thought the adjective "Hugoist" must be the superlative of "egoist". Claudel would later speak of the "gaseous emanations of his verse", and when asked to name his favourite lyric poet, André Gide replied: "Victor Hugo, hélas!" That "hélas!" speaks volumes. Clever people have always preferred Baudelaire, Flaubert and Rimbaud, but Hugo has been unstoppable. In 1992, a poll declared him France's second favourite novelist. Nowadays, he is once more a superstar. His was the pen that brought us not only Les Misérables with tunes but Disney's "dorsally challenged teenager called Quasi", as Graham Robb pungently puts it in his brilliant and very sharp biography.

Hugo was an army child, born in 1802, when armies reeked of Napoleonic glory. He was raised largely by his mother who divorced his dashing but philandering father in 1815. By then, Victor wanted to be "Chateaubriand or nothing". He embraced classicism in literature and royalism in politics. He had already attracted attention by the time he married Adele Foucher in 1822, but he was even then succumbing to his imagination. Riding on the back of Nodding, the "pilot" of Romanticism, he led the crucial charge with Hernani (1830), a fiery drama which broke the rules and prefaced the July Revolution. He no longer wanted to be anyone except Victor Hugo.

Notre Dame de Paris (1831) was a triumph. But it also set a political agenda. Through Quasimodo, foul

without but fair within, Hugo reclaimed history for the common man and gave a content to the social romanticism which he never abandoned. He denounced the death penalty and defended freedoms which the state seemed intent on curbing. By the mid-1830s, he had four distinct personas: Olympio (lyricism), Herman (love), Magia (laughter) and Hierro (combat). It was, as Robb remarks, "a limited company of egos", and Hugo lived each one to the hilt.

Herman and Magia joined forces as sensually bound outcasts in the opportunities offered by actresses, groupies and whores. In 1833, he had begun an affair with Juliette Drouot who admired him as much as she loved him for 50 years. In 1843, he met Léonie Biard and acquired a third household. "Le Père Hugo" juggled his complicated private life more or less successfully for the next 30 years.

By 1840, Romanticism was in the mainstream and Hugo had done as much as anyone to put it there. He was not yet a democrat, which perhaps explains why he failed to capitalise on the vogue for serialised fiction which made media stars of Dumas and Eugène Sue, who between them had a greater impact on popular opinion. Robb does not venture an explanation (was Hugo already too Olympian?), but he notes that Hugo now wrote less and fornicated more. Moreover, he was deeply affected by the death by drowning of his daughter, Léopoldine, in 1843. He could not accept that God is indifferent to human wishes and for the rest of his life sought to understand the interconnectedness of things which is the basis of cosmic unity.

He threw himself into the revolution of 1848, tried to replace politics by "social questions", failed, resisted Louis Napoleon's coup d'état in December 1851, and fled, with a

price on his head. He riposted with the devastating Napoleon le Petit which infuriated the new order and gave him his favourite role as a one-man opposition.

Hugo spent the next 18 years in the Channel Islands where he discovered the Ocean, spiritism and a cosmogony which demonstrated that progress was the struggle for Love. It was a religion based on fraternity which, notes Robb tartly, "might have been constructed by a UNESCO committee".

Exile proved a smart career move. The oceanic exile now spoke to the whole world in poems rhetorical, lyrical and apocalyptic. Les Misérables (1862), a tale of redemption, accused society of making criminals and gave him a reputation as the great humanitarian.

In 1870, Hugo's return to Paris

after the Franco-Prussian debacle was a triumph. He tried his hand at politics but quickly retreated into his final persona as Franco's self-appointed spiritual leader.

Graham Robb is a cool, deft and congenial guide to a writer who was and remains a monument. Moments are difficult to humanise, but Robb, maintaining a cracking pace, gives us a very human Hugo: a fascinating mix of self-delusion and tremendous creative energy. If he hitches up the Hugolian trousers now and then to show feet of clay, he succeeds brilliantly in celebrating the extraordinary achievement of a writer who was everything to excess — hélas.

If you would like to order this book at the special price of £16 contact CultureShop (see page 28)

Victor Hugo: dazzling poet, playwright, novelist, philosopher, rebel, humanitarian, lover



A question of identity

Lucy Atkins

Wait Till I Tell You
by Candia McWilliam
Bloomsbury 244pp £14.99

IF ASKED to predict the most likely theme for a book of stories by one of today's most talented Scottish writers, "nationality" would surely be top of anyone's list. This collection, at first, seems to offer few surprises: it is divided into two sections, "North" and "South", which are bridged by a sophisticated tale ("Seven Magpies") in which characters journey, symbolically, from Scotland to England. But Wait Till I Tell You is about identity in a wider sense — personal, familial, national — and proves surprisingly expansive.

Some themes are familiar. Many of the stories in "North" cover the divisions and delimitations of Scotland: one is set on a tiny island community in which "there was nothing to do but talk and little but one another to talk about"; in another, a young man tells his fiancée that he has



Candia McWilliam... a rebel for the spoken word

been in America, building bridges, when he has actually been washing up in a tourist hotel in Loch Lomond — characters are at once drawn to and restricted by their own particular corner of Scotland.

As the collection progresses, wider questions of identity emerge

and it becomes clear that McWilliam is concerned with humanity, not just Scottish or English nationality. Food is symbolic; a human requirement, common to all, but also a sign of difference, cultural, national or individual.

The narrator of the opening story ("Shredding the Icebergs") runs a stall on a beach, providing food for the "types" or "tribes", which congregate. She asks herself, "where did these different kinds of souls get born and how do they hatch?" This question echoes throughout the collection: what makes people who they are? Canada is as important as nationality: in "Homesickness", the owner of a health food shop contrasts the "laid's well-hung haggis with venison and blueberry" against the "pesties, bridges, mutton pies, puds and saveloys in batter" of his home town. Humanity, for McWilliam, is reassuringly functional, and difference, however national, has its physical symptoms.

Perhaps the main weakness of the collection is that Englishness does not emerge as vividly as it might. England is described — memorably — by one character as "a country where someone had turned down all the control knobs: no bright colours, no real noise... But a pillow of describing blandness is the difficulty of simultaneously transcending it". "South" opens with a funny and clever story, "Strawberries", which focuses on a privileged but isolated only child coping with his dysfunctional, well-to-do English parents, but the main achievement of the piece lies in the ironic subtleties of the child's perspective on adult hang-ups: there can be little to say about English class distinctions that has not been said before.

As the title suggests, the spoken word is relied. Many of the stories begin midway through a conversation, and characters are often described in idiomatic terms. The prose, too, is sonorous — peppered with Scottish words, like "keeked" and "scunnered", and with place names and terminology ("panties" on a playhouse roof; the study of "finite dimensional vector space"). This can slow up the pace, but overall McWilliam's minute observation, structural finesse and wry humanity give full voice to the many dimensions of her subject matter.

Wait Till I Tell You

Time for a traditional roast

Paul Evans

AUTUMN gathers apace. A few bright sunny days have brought the colours out in woodland foliage. These may not be as spectacular as a New England fall — but what is? However, the yellow, gold and bronze leaves have a subtle fire that ring the changes and stir the spirit.

This autumn has been spectacular for spiders, or to be more accurate, the work of spiders. Woods and fields have been densely rigged in the finest gossamer threads that tie twig to twig, leaf to leaf, even earth to sky. Sunlight shines on long free-floating threads, morning dew sparkles on an intricate gossamer rigging that looks like frost. The millions of architects of this remarkable collective construction remain largely invisible, as if the world has been caught in some magic web. The spider's labour is also a good ecological metaphor. As John Muir said, "everything is hitched to everything else" and, in the soft autumn light, thanks to the spiders, it is.

Another great autumnal joy this year is sweet chestnuts. Driven by some deeply mammalian instinct to bulk up for the winter, people forage through the woods for the spiny green capsules which hold the chestnuts. This year has been unusually good. Not only have the trees produced a heavy crop of nuts but a good proportion of them are plump enough for roasting.

The chestnuts you buy in supermarkets or traditionally roasted on London streets come from special nut-producing varieties in Italy, where chestnuts are also made into flour. Until the development of pollen analysis it was assumed that sweet chestnut trees were native to Britain. Arguments in the 18th century about whether or not this was true gave rise to the science of historical ecology.

The pollen record has since proved that the chestnut was not around in prehistoric Britain and is



ILLUSTRATION: BARRY LARKING

indigenous to Italy, the Balkans and Spain. The Romans brought chestnuts to England, as they did many other plants. Many of these Roman introductions disappeared during the Dark Ages or were confined to gardens. But chestnuts, later acquiring a medieval name, became naturalised, particularly in oak-birch woodland in acid conditions.

Sweet chestnut, *Castanea sativa*, named after Castanum in Thessaly (Greece) where it may also have been introduced as in Crete, has become an integral part of English woodland. There are many ancient trees scattered throughout England whose huge fluted trunks twist into wide spreading crowns. In the 17th and particularly the 19th centuries, chestnut woods were planted in southeast England and coppiced for the long hop and vine poles. Apart from yew, chestnut is the most rot-resistant timber in the ground.

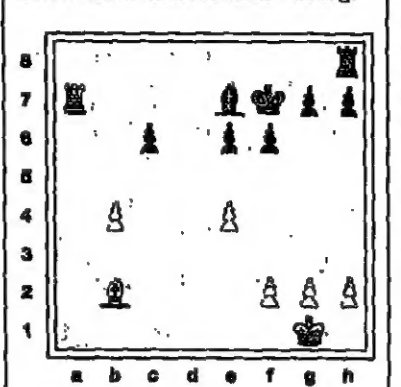
Sweet chestnut has evolved its

own ecological context in England. This is unique in northern Europe and may be one of the reasons why it has escaped the Endothia disease that ravaged chestnut populations in Italy and France. Its American relative, *Castanea dentata*, which once characterised the forests of New England, the Mid-West and the Allegheny mountains, has also been stricken in relatively recent years and been either wiped out or reduced to sprouting suckers from the boles of once stately giants.

This should make us value our English chestnuts more. I discovered a grove of sweet chestnut trees growing on a narrow ridge with oaks on the Wrekin here in Shropshire just a few days ago. They are old, craggy individuals, stunted by the rocky conditions but absolutely laden with chestnuts. Clambering about in their boughs and foraging in their shade was a real joy, and their fruit have the woody, fiery brown taste of autumn.

Chess Leonard Barden

GARRY KASPAROV may be all-time No 1, but he can still misjudge the end of a game. Following his débâcle against Deep Blue, when he resigned a drawn position, Kasparov reached the diagram below in the final round at Tilburg.



Joel Lautier (White) blundered by 1 Rc7?, then had the presence of mind to offer a draw. Kasparov accepted, and was distraught when he then spotted c5! when 2 bxc5? Rb8 wins the bishop or mates, while 2 b5 or 2 Bc3 Rb8 leave Black a winning pawn up. This expensive mistake allowed Peter Svidler and Vlad Kramnik — the latter reducing Kasparov's lead in the world rankings — to share first prize.

Ireland's Russian immigrant grandmaster Alex Baburin ran away with last month's Monarch Assurance Open on the Isle of Man, finishing two points clear of the field despite the presence of British champion Matthew Sadler and other English GMs. The £10,000 Isle of Man Congress is now firmly established as Britain's most important annual event after the British Championship and Hastings.

Kosten-Sadler

1 c4 e6 2 Nc3 d5 3 d4 c6 4 cxd5 exd5 5 Bf4 Bd6 6 h4! Qxd6 7 c5 White's tame opening looks a prelude to peace negotiations...

Bf5 8 Ng2 Nc7 9 Nf4 Nd7 10 Be2 0-0 11 g4! ... but not this way. White seems unsure whether he is playing to attack or to equalise, and

oblivious to the dangers of keeping his king in mid-board while his masses his army on the central files. 16 Nb5 Qe5 17 Kd1 Rf8 18 Nf2 Bc4 19 Qd2 Rxd2 20 Rd1 Ne6 21 f4 White cannot escape the pin on his d4 knight by 21 Nxc6 Rxd2 22 Nxe5 because Rxe2+, but has prepared a last Nxd4 22 Nxd4 Nxd4 23 Qd3 White's idea is Rxd4 24 f5 and the worst is over. Qe7! Kasparov used to say he needed to see just one move further than his opponent. If 24 Qe5 Qh4 mate.

24 Resigns. The world team championship began in Lucerne last month. Russia, the US and Ukraine are England's main rivals, with Kazakhstan, Switzerland, Croatia and Cuba also running. Thanks to long-distance sponsors Duncan Lawrie, England is fielding a near-optimum team of Short, Adams, Sadler, Speelman, Hodgson and Nunn.

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Farrell himself admitted to some early errors, notably kicking out on the full on Great Britain's first possession, missing a tackle on Gordon Tait and allowing Ryan Girdler to get outside him in the build-up to Australia's first try.

"But finding my feet at stand-off was not the problem," he insisted. "People might say it's not my posi-

tion because I made a few basic errors. But it wasn't that. It was just dumb play."

What Farrell might have added, were he the type to criticise his team-mates, was that he was playing behind an outgunned pack. As Daley said: "All big games are won in the forwards and they laid the platform for my tries."

Great Britain allowed the props Jason Stevens and Brad Thorn, the Australians' Man of the Match, to dominate the ruck area. Paul Broadbent and Brian McDermott enjoyed some early success going forward but failed to sting in defence.

"We were too soft, we needed more steel," said the Great Britain coach Andy Goodway. "We weren't making the hard shots. We need to test the referee a little bit."

With both his first-choice props Barrie McDermott and Harvey Howard unavailable, Goodway may have to turn to the Wigan veteran Neil Cowie for the second Test at Old Trafford for the required injection of "mongrel". The Leeds youngster Adrian Morley, who injected some much-needed vigour from the Wembley bench, also seems certain to be promoted to the starting 13.

It was a difficult Test for Goodway, who was criticised for selecting Farrell out of position and was even spat at by a few Great Britain spectators as he walked back to the dressing rooms after Australia had run in

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GUARDIAN WEEKLY

November 9 1997

Rugby League First Test: Great Britain 14 Australia 38

Outlook is fraught for Farrell

Andy Wilson

ANDY FARRELL is finding the Great Britain Rugby League captaincy a less than rewarding experience both on and off the pitch.

His only perks from the sport are a Wigan club-car and an endorsement for Fax Pads shoulder protectors in the trade newspaper, The Rugby League. He does not even have an agent. And the fees for the Great Britain players, even the captain, in the current series against Australia are modest.

But it is not just the money. Last autumn's 3-0 whitewash in New Zealand upset Farrell deeply, and last Saturday's 38-14 humbling by the Australian Super League team at Wembley he found the blame being laid on his performance in the unaccustomed position of stand-off.

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Football results and tables

FA CARLING PREMIERSHIP:
Aston Villa 0, Chelsea 2; Barnsley 1, Blackburn Rovers 1; Bolton 1, Liverpool 1; Derby County 3, Arsenal 0; Everton 0, Southampton 2; Manchester Utd 0, Sheffield Wed 1; Newcastle Utd 3, Leicester 2; Tottenham 0, Leeds 1; Wimbledon 1, Coventry 2.

NATIONWIDE LEAGUE:
Division One: Barnsley 0, Walsley 0; Charlton 3, Ipswich 0; Huddersfield 3, Stoke 1; Norwich 2, Bury 2; Nottm For 3, Crewe 1; Oxford 0, Man City 0; Port Vale 0, Reading 0; QPR 1, Birmingham 1; Sheffield Utd 2, Tranmere 1; Stockport 1, Sunderland 1; Wolves 1, Middlesbrough 0.

Division Two: Bournemouth 0, Bradford 0; Bristol City 1, Oldham 0; Burnley 2, Walsley 1; Carlisle 2, Wrexham 2; Fulham 1, Chesterfield 1; Gillingham 1, Millwall 3; Grimsby 5, Southend Utd 1; Northampton 1, Bristol R 1; Preston 0, Plymouth 1; Welling 4, Blackpool 1; Wigan 1, York 1; Wycombe 2, Luton 2.

Division Three: Barnet 1, Notts Co 2; Cambridge 1, Torquay Utd 1; Cardiff 0, Swansea 1; Chester 1, Rochdale 0; Darlington 4, Hull 3; Exeter 0, Peterborough 0; Hartlepool 0, Brighton 0; Lincoln 1, Leyton 0; D. Colchester 1, Macclesfield 0; Scarbrough 0, Doncaster 0; Shrewsbury 3, Mansfield 2.

BELL'S SCOTTISH LEAGUE:
Premier Division: Aberdeen 1, Hearts 1; Dunfermline 0, Celtic 2; Hibernian 1, Dundee Utd 3; Rangers 4, Kilmarnock 1; St Johnstone 4, Motherwell 3.

First Division: Arbroath 1, Raith 0; Dundee 0, Partick 0; Hamilton 1, Morton 0; Stirling Albion 0, Menzies 0.

Second Division: Forth 0, Arbroath 2; Stirling Albion 0, East Fife 0; Stranraer 1, Livingston 1; Inverness CT 0, Brechin 0.

Third Division: Brechin 1, Albion 1; Cowden 0, Alloa 3; E. Stirling 1, Arbroath 2; Arbroath 2, Dundee 0; Dundee 0, Brechin 0.

CHALLENGE CUP:
Final: Falkirk 1, Queen of the South 0.

FA CARLING PREMIERSHIP:
Man Utd 13 8 4 1 20 7 28
Arsenal 13 6 6 1 23 11 24
Blackburn 13 6 6 1 23 11 24
Chelsea 12 7 1 4 27 16 25
Leicester 13 6 4 3 19 13 23
Derby 12 6 4 2 22 15 20
Leeds 13 6 4 3 19 13 23
Liverpool 12 5 4 3 21 13 19
Newcastle 10 5 2 3 12 13 17
Wimbledon 13 4 4 5 15 16 16
West Ham 12 5 1 6 15 19 16
Coventry 13 3 7 3 10 14 16
Crystal Palace 12 4 3 5 12 14 16
Aston Villa 13 4 2 7 12 19 14
Sheff Wed 13 3 7 3 17 17 17
Southampton 13 4 1 8 13 20 13
Everton 12 3 3 6 13 16 13
Bolton 12 2 8 4 10 16 16
Sheff Utd 13 3 1 9 10 35 9
Sheff Wed 13 2 3 8 16 35 9

NATIONWIDE LEAGUE:
Division One:
Nottm Forest 14 9 3 2 24 11 30
Swindon 15 8 4 3 19 17 28
Charlton 14 7 4 3 18 12 24
Sheff Utd 12 7 4 1 20 10 25
West Brom 14 7 4 3 17 12 28
Middlesbrough 13 7 3 3 23 13 24
Sheff Wed 14 6 4 3 18 16 24
QPR 14 6 4 4 19 20 22
Wolverhampton 15 6 4 5 18 16 22
Sunderland 14 6 3 5 20 18 21
Bristol City 14 6 3 5 16 16 21
Sheff Wed 14 6 3 5 17 17 21
Blackpool 15 5 5 5 23 22 20
Port Vale 15 4 4 6 19 18 16
Bury 15 3 7 6 17 23 18
Norwich 14 4 4 6 11 21 16
Crewe 16 4 3 8 18 23 18
Oxford Utd 16 4 3 8 18 23 18
Reading 15 3 6 6 15 24 16
Man City 14 3 6 5 16 16 16
Ipswich 13 3 5 5 13 16 14
Torquay 14 3 3 8 20 22 18
Preston 14 2 4 8 16 23 10
Huddersfield 15 1 5 9 11 29 8

Division Two:
Nottm Forest 14 9 3 2 24 11 30
Swindon 15 8 4 3 19 17 28
Charlton 14 7 4 3 18 12 24
Sheff Utd 12 7 4 1 20 10 25
West Brom 14 7 4